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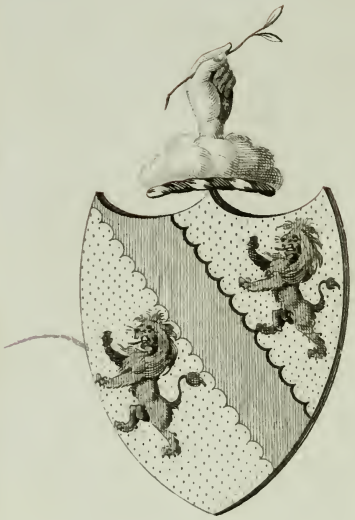

William Dickinson Esq.r

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Edmund Ludlow Esq.r
Liev.t Gen.ll

MEMOIRS

OF

Edmund Ludlow *Esq;*

Lieutenant General of the Horse, Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, One of the Council of State, and a Member of the Parliament which began on *November* 3, 1640.

In Two Volumes.

VOL. I.

Switzerland,
Printed at *Vivay* in the Canton of *Bern*.
M DC XC VIII.

To their EXCELLENCIES

The LORDS of the Council FOR THE Canton of BERN.

YOUR Excellencies having been the Protectors of the Author of these *Memoirs* during the many Years of his Exile, are justly entituled to whatever Acknowledgment can be made for those Noble Favours, which you extended so seasonably and so constantly to him and his Fellow-Sufferers.

A 'Tis

'Tis well known to your Lordſhips, that the Lieutenant General would have accounted himſelf happy to lay down that Life for your Service, which you had preſerved by your Generoſity. But ſince he lived not to have ſo Glorious an Occaſion of expreſſing his Gratitude, (no Prince, how powerful ſoever, being hardy enough to attack that Liberty which is ſo well ſecured by the Bravery and good Diſcipline of your own People) nothing now remains to be a Monument of his Duty, and your Bounty, but theſe Papers; and therefore as a juſt Debt, they are moſt humbly preſented to your Excellencies.

THE

THE PREFACE.

NO *History can furnish us with the Example of a Man whose Life and Actions have been universally applauded: Malice, or a different Interest, being always ready to wound the Noblest Integrity. The Vertues of* Scipio *and* Cato, *the best and greatest of the Romans, could not preserve them from the Assaults of Envy and Calumny; of which, the groundless Accusations of the former to the People, and the Volumes of Aspersions published against the latter by the Usurper* Julius, *are a sufficient Testimony. 'Tis therefore no wonder that Men who*

endeavour to imitate those great Examples, and make the Service of their Country the principal Care of their Lives, should meet with the same hard Usage. What the Author of these Papers did and suffered on that account, the ensuing Relation will in part witness; wherein it will appear, that he contended not against Persons, but Things: That he was an Enemy to all Arbitrary Government, tho gilded over with the most specious Pretences; and that he not only disapproved the Usurpation of Cromwel, *but would have opposed him with as much Vigour as he had done the King, if all Occasions of that nature had not been cut off by the extraordinary Jealousy and Vigilance of the Usurper.*

Concerning his Extraction, if that be any thing, it may be justly said, he was descended of an Antient and Worthy Family, originally known in Shropshire, *and from thence transplanted into the County of* Wilts, *where his Ancestors possessed such an Estate as placed them in the first Rank of Gentlemen; and their personal Merits usually concurring with their Fortune, gave them just Pretences to stand Candidates to represent the County in Parliament as Knights of the Shire, which Honour they seldom failed to attain. His Father Sir* Henry Ludlow *being chosen by his Country to serve in that Parliament which began on the* 3d *of* November, 1640, *was one of those who strenuously asserted the Rights and Liberties*

berties of the People againſt the Invaſions made upon them by the pretended Prerogatives of the Crown. The Example of his Father, together with a particular Encouragement from him, joined to a full Perſwaſion of the Neceſſity of arming in Defence of his Country, mounted our Author, then very young, on Horſeback. His firſt Eſſay was at the Battel of Edg-hill, *where he fought as Voluntier in the Life-guard of the Earl of* Eſſex. *His Father dying ſome time after the Eruption of our Troubles, he went down to* Wiltſhire, *and was unanimouſly choſen by that County to be one of their Knights of the Shire to repreſent them in Parliament; where his Integrity and Firmneſs to the true Intereſt of his Country ſoon became ſo remarkable, that he was thought worthy to be intruſted with the Command of an Independent Regiment of Horſe, to defend the County for which he ſerved from the Incurſions of the Enemies Army. And how great a Progreſs he made afterwards in the Science of War, the Military Honours he received in a time when Rewards were not blindly beſtowed, may ſufficiently manifeſt.*

After the Death of King Charles *the Firſt, he was ſent into* Ireland *by the Parliament in the Quality of Lieutenant General of the Horſe. This Employment he diſcharged with Diligence and Succeſs till the Death of the Lord Deputy* Ireton, *and then acted for ſome time as General, tho without that Title; the growing Power of* Oliver Crom-

Cromwel, *who knew him to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, always finding out ſome Pretext to hinder the conferring that Character upon him. The finiſhing Part was only wanting to the compleat Suppreſſion of the Iriſh Rebellion, and the laſt ſtroke had been given by this Gentleman, if the Uſurpation of* Cromwel *had not prevented him. Under that Power he never acted: And tho the Uſurper employed all his Arts to gain him, he remained immovable, and would not be perſwaded to give the leaſt Colour or Countenance to his Ambition. After the Death of* Cromwel *ſome Endeavours were made to cauſe the Publick Affairs to revert to their former Channel, in which Attempts our Author was not an idle Spectator. But* Oliver *had ſo choaked the Springs, that the Torrent took another Courſe; and all the Efforts that were made to reſtore the Commonwealth proving vain and fruitleſs,* Charles *the Second was permitted to act his part. Thereupon this Gentleman, who had gone through innumerable Hazards for the Liberties of* England, *was ſtripped of his Eſtate, and under the odious name of Traitor forced to abandon his native Country. That he eſcaped the Searches made after him in* England, *and ſafely arrived in* Switzerland, *was almoſt a Miracle. The Preſervation of his Life, which was in the utmoſt hazard, by reaſon of the Prejudices then reigning, obliged him to confine himſelf to the deepeſt Privacy, and for a ſhort time kept him unknown, till his exemplary Life made him*

him not only to be observed, but admired. This Stranger for more than thirty Years was the Care of that Country; and it may be justly said, that by their Vigilance rather than his own, the frequent Designs that were formed against his Life, were defeated, and some of them exemplarily punished on the Heads of their Authors.

During his Exile he wrote the following Memoirs, conjecturing, and I think he was not mistaken, that some of the Family of Charles *the Martyr might act such things as would make his Country relish the Relation, and regret the Usage he had found. But it can never be expected that all Men should be of the same Mind. And therefore when the whole Kingdom of* Ireland, London-derry *only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the hands of the Irish Papists, and the Lieutenant General, I hope I may say it without Offence, was sent for, as a fit Person to be employed to recover it from them: When the British Refugees were glad to hear him named for that Service; and he in an Extasie to serve his Country any where, was arrived in* England; *the Reception he found there was such, as ought rather to be forgotten, than transmitted to Posterity, with any Remarks upon that Conjuncture. Thus being denied the Honour of dying for his Country, he returned to the more hospitable Place from whence he came. But* England *had not one good Wish the less from him on the account of her last Unkindness. For at the very*

very Article of Death some of his last Words were Wishes for the Prosperity, Peace and Glory of his Country; and that Religion and Liberty might be established there on so sure and solid a Foundation, that the Designs of ill Men might never bring them into Danger for the time to come.

ME-

MEMOIRS
OF
EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq.

HAving seen our Cause betrayed, and the most solemn Promises that could be made to the Asserters of it, openly violated, I departed from my Native Country. And hoping that my Retirement may protect me from the Rage and Malice of my Enemies, I cannot think it a mispending of some part of my leisure, to employ it in setting down the most remarkable Counsels and Actions of the Parties engaged in the late Civil War, which spread it self through the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; wherein I shall not strictly confine my self to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best Account I can of such other memorable Occurrences of those Times as I have learn'd from Persons well inform'd, and of unsuspected Fidelity.

Those who make any Enquiry into the History of K. *James*'s Reign, will find, that tho his Inclinations were strongly bent to render himself Absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that Design by Fraud than Violence. But K. *Charles* having taken a nearer view of De-

ſpotick Government in his Journey to *France* and *Spain*, tempted with the glittering Shew and imaginary Pleaſures of that empty Pageantry, immediately after his Aſcent to the Throne pulled off the Maſque, and openly diſcovered his Intentions to make the Crown abſolute and independent.

In the beginning of his Reign he marry'd a Daughter of *France*, who was not wanting on her part to preſs him, upon all occaſions, to purſue the Deſign of enlarging his Power, not omitting to ſolicite him alſo to mould the Church of *England* to a nearer Compliance with the See of *Rome*: Wherein ſhe was but too well ſeconded by corrupt Miniſters of State, of whom ſome were profeſſed Papiſts; and an ambitious Clergy, whoſe Influence upon the King was always greater than could well conſiſt with the Peace and Happineſs of *England*. 'Tis true, he called ſome Parliaments in the firſt Years of his Reign; but the People ſoon became ſenſible he did it rather to empty their Purſes than to redreſs their Grievances. The *Petition of Right*, as it was called, paſſed in one of them; yet by the manner of paſſing it, and more by the way of keeping, or rather breaking it in almoſt every Particular, they clearly ſaw what they were to expect from him. And tho by the Votes paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, (after a Meſſage from the King to require their Attendance in order to a Diſſolution, thereby to prevent their Enquiry

quiry into his Father's Death) complaining of the Grievances of the Nation, and asserting the Liberties thereof, declaring it Treason for any to pay Custom or other Taxes without the Authority of Parliament, locking the Door of the House of Commons, and compelling the Speaker to continue in the Chair till it pass'd, He might have observed the Pulse of the Nation beating high towards Liberty; yet contrary to his Promise to preserve the *Privileges of Parliament*, he caused the Studies of their Members to be searched, their Papers to be seized, and their Persons to be imprisoned in the *Tower*, where Sir *John Elliot*, who was one of them, lost his Life. Divers others suffered in their Health and Estates, being prosecuted with all Severity at the Common Law, for discharging their Duty in Parliament. After the Dissolution of which, a Proclamation was published, whereby it was made criminal in the People to speak any more of Parliaments.

The King having assumed this extraordinary Power, resolved to make War against *France*; not upon the account of those of the Reformed Religion, as was pretended, but grounded upon personal Discontents, and to gratify the Revenge and Lust of his Favourite.

The *Rochellers*, who once before, upon Encouragement from *England*, had endeavoured to defend their just Rights against the Encroachments of the French King, till being deserted by the King of *England*, they were

neceſſitated to accept Terms from their King very diſadvantageous to their Affairs, were again by frequent Importunities and fair Promiſes prevailed with (tho very unwillingly) to aſſiſt the Engliſh with Proviſions, and ſuch other things as they wanted, in their Expedition againſt the Iſle of *Rhee:* From whence our Forces being repulſed, the French King ſent his Army againſt the Proteſtants of *Rochel*, whoſe Proviſions being before exhauſted by the Engliſh, they applied to the King of *England* for Succours, according to his Promiſe: Who, as if he intended to aſſiſt them effectually, cauſed a certain Number of Ships to be fitted out, under the Conduct of Sir *John Pennington*. But private Differences being ſoon after compoſed, Sir *John* receiv'd a Letter from the King, ſigned *Charles Rex*, which was afterwards found by the Parliament amongſt his Papers, requiring him to diſpoſe of thoſe Ships as he ſhould be directed by the French King; and if any ſhould refuſe to obey thoſe Orders, to ſink or fire them. The King's Command was put in execution accordingly, and by the help of thoſe Ships the French became Maſters of the Sea, and thereby inabled to raiſe a Work compoſed of Earth, Stones and Piles, with which they entirely ſhut up the Mouth of the Harbour, and ſo prevented them from any Relief that way. Being thus ſtraitned on all ſides, they were forced to yield to the Pleaſure of their King; and that ſtrong Town of *Rochel*, where-

wherein the Security of the Proteſtants of *France* chiefly conſiſted, by this horrible Treachery was delivered up to the Papiſts, and thoſe of the Reform'd Religion in all Parts of that Kingdom expoſed to the Rage of their bloody and cruel Enemies.

About this time the moſt profitable Preferments in the Engliſh Church were given to thoſe of the Clergy who were moſt forward to promote the Impoſition of new Ceremonies and Superſtitions: An Oath was enjoined by them with an *&c.* ſeveral new Holy Days introduced, and required to be obſerved by the People with all poſſible Solemnity, at the ſame time that they were encouraged to profane the Lord's Day, by a Book commonly called, *The Book of Sports*, printed and publiſhed by the King's eſpecial Command.

But this was not the only Work of which the Clergy were judged capable, and therefore divers of them entered the Liſts as Champions of the Prerogative, aſſerting that the Poſſeſſions and Eſtates of the Subject did of Right belong to the King, and that he might diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; thereby vacating and annulling, as much as in them lay, all the Laws of *England* that ſecure a Propriety to the People. Arbitrary Courts were erected, and the Power of others enlarged; ſuch were the *High Commiſſion Court*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *Court of Honour*, the *Court of Wards*, the *Court of Requeſts*, &c. *Patents* and *Monopolies* of al-

moſt every thing were granted to private Men, to the great Damage of the Publick. *Knighthood*, *Coat and Conduct-Money*, and many other illegal Methods were revived and put in execution, to rob the People, in order to ſupport the Profuſion of the Court. And that our Liberties might be extirpated at once, and we become Tenants at will to the King, that rare Invention of *Ship-Money* was found out by *Finch*, whoſe Solicitation and Importunities prevailed with the *major* part of the Judges of *Weſtminſter-Hall* to declare for Law, *That for the Supply of Shipping to defend the Nation, the King might impoſe a Tax upon the People: That he was to be Judg of the Neceſſity of ſuch Supply, and of the Quantity to be impoſed for it; and that he might Impriſon as well as Deſtrain in caſe of Refuſal.* Some there were who out of a hearty Affection to the Service of their Country, and a true Engliſh Spirit, oppoſed theſe illegal Proceedings: Amongſt whom Mr. *John Hampden* of *Buckingham-ſhire*, Judge *Croke*, and Judge *Hutton*, were of the moſt eminent.

Prerogative being wound up to this height in *England*, and the Affairs of the Church tending to a Conjunction with the See of *Rome*; before any farther Progreſs ſhould be made therein here, it was thought expedient, that the Pulſe of *Scotland* ſhould be felt, and they perſwaded or compelled to the like Conformity. To this end a Form of Publick Prayer was ſent to *Scotland*, more nearly approaching the Roman Office

Office than that uſed in *England.* The reading of this New Service-Book at *Edinburgh* was firſt interrupted by a poor Woman; but the People were ſo generally diſcontented with the Book it ſelf, as well as the manner of impoſing it, that ſhe was ſoon ſeconded by the Generality of them; thoſe who officiated hardly eſcaping with their Lives. This produced divers Meetings of many of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry, who entred into an Agreement or Covenant to root out Epiſcopacy, Hereſy, and Superſtition.

Thoſe of the Clergy of *England,* who had been the chief Adviſers and Promoters of this Violence, prevailed with the King to cauſe all ſuch as ſhould perſiſt in their Oppoſition after a certain time, to be proclaimed Traitors. But the Scots not at all afrighted with theſe Menaces, reſolved to make good their former Undertaking. Which the King perceiving, and that this violent way took not effect, began to incline to more moderate Counſels; and by Commiſſion empowered the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* to treat them into a Submiſſion, conſenting to the Suppreſſion of the *Liturgy, High Commiſſion Court,* and *Articles of Perth.* But the Scots inſiſting upon the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, and the King refuſing his Conſent to it, they did it themſelves in an Aſſembly held at *Glaſco:* and being informed that the King was preparing an Army to compel them to Obedience, agreed upon the raiſing of

ſome Forces to defend themſelves.

The Clergy in *England* were not wanting to promote the New Levies againſt the Scots, contributing largely thereunto; which was but reaſonable, it being manifeſt to all that they were the principal Authors and Fomentors of theſe Troubles. The Nobility and Gentry were likewiſe required to further this Expedition; in which, tho divers of them did appear, yet was it rather out of Compliment than Affection to the Deſign, being ſenſible of the Oppreſſions they themſelves lay under; and how dangerous to the People of *England* a thorow Succeſs againſt the Scots might prove.

The King perceiving an Univerſal Diſlike to this War, as well in the People as in the Officers and Souldiers of his Army, concluded an Agreement with the Scots at *Berwick*, the 17*th* of *June*, 1639. But upon his Return to *London*, under colour that many falſe Copies of the ſaid Articles were publiſhed and diſperſed by the Scots, to the great Diſhonour of the King, the ſaid Agreement was diſowned, and order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the Hangman.

Thereupon hoping that a Parliament would eſpouſe his Quarrel, and furniſh him with Money for the carrying on of his Deſign, he ſummoned one to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 3*d* of *April*, 1640. which, ſitting but a little time, thereby obtained the Name of the *ſhort Parliament*. The King by his Agents earneſtly preſſed them to grant him preſent Supplies for the Uſe

of

of his Army; but they ſenſible of former Uſage after they had gratified him in that Particular, and of the inſupportable Burdens and Oppreſſions they lay under, refuſed to grant any Subſidies till their Grievances ſhould be redreſſed: Whereupon the King put a Period to their ſitting the fifth of *May* following; the Earl of *Strafford*, and others of his Council, adviſing him ſo to do, and to make uſe of other Means for his Supply; as appeared to the enſuing Parliament, by the Minutes of the Secretary of State, taken at that Cabal, and produced at the Trial of the ſaid Earl: The Sum of whoſe Advice was to this effect. *Sir, You have now tried your People, and are denied by them, therefore you are clear before God and Man, if you make uſe of other Means for your Supply: You have an Army in* Ireland, *&c.* This Counſel was proſecuted, and new Preparations made for the carrying on of the War againſt the Scots; all imaginable ways uſed to raiſe Supplies, *Privy Seals* ſent throughout the Nation for the *Loan* of Money, *Ship-Money*, *Coat and Conduct-Money* preſſed to the height; Commodities taken up on Credit, and ſold for ready Money; Warrants alſo were delivered out to preſs Men to ſerve in the Army; Braſs-Money was propounded, and ſome prepared, but that Project took no effect. The Clergy being permitted and encouraged by the King to ſit in Convocation after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, took upon them not only to frame Canons and

Oaths,

Oaths, but alſo to impoſe four Shillings in the Pound upon Eccleſiaſtical Benefices throughout the Kingdom. The King, to give life to the Advance of his Army, marched with them in Perſon; the Earl of *Northumberland*, as moſt popular, wearing the name of General, whilſt *Strafford* with the Title of Lieutenant General had the principal Management of all.

The City of *London* had refuſed to pay ſome of the illegal Taxes before-mentioned; whereupon divers of their chief Officers were impriſoned, and an Order iſſued forth to take away the Sword from the Lord Mayor. Whereupon the People riſe, and beſet the Houſe of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who in conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, was ſuppoſed to put the King upon theſe violent and unwarrantable Courſes; but he made his Eſcape by Water for that time; and one of the moſt active of the People was ſeized and executed, which ſerved only to exaſperate the reſt.

Upon the near Approach of the Engliſh and Scots Army, a conſiderable Party of each ſide encountred; and the Engliſh, contrary to their wonted Cuſtom, retired in Diſorder, not without Shame and ſome Loſs. Of ſuch Force and Conſequence is a Belief and full Perſwaſion of the Juſtice of an Undertaking, tho managed by an Enemy, in other reſpects inconſiderable.

The King, ſtartled at the Unſucceſsfulneſs of his firſt Attempt, upon the Petition of a conſiderable number of the well-affected Nobility, re-

requesting him, that to avoid the Effusion of more Blood, he would call an Assembly of the Nobility, consented thereunto. This Council accordingly met at *York*, and advised the King to a Cessation of Arms, and the Calling of a Parliament to compose Differences; which, to the great trouble of the Clergy and other Incendiaries, he promised to do; assuring the Scots of the Paiment of twenty thousand Pounds a Month to maintain their Army, till the Pleasure of the Parliament should be known. In order to which, Writs were issued out for the Meeting of a Parliament on the 3*d* of *November*, 1640.

The time prefix'd for their assembling being come, they met accordingly: and as they were very sensible that nothing but an absolute Necessity permitted their coming together, so they resolved to improve this happy Opportunity to free the People from their Burdens, and to punish the Authors of the late Disorders. To this end they declared against *Monopolies*, and expelled the Authors of them out of the House. The Opinions of the Judges concerning Ship-Money they voted unjust and *illegal*, fining and imprisoning those that had warranted the Lawfulness thereof. And that the Offenders against the Publick might not escape, they ordered the Sea-Ports to be diligently guarded, and all Passengers to be strictly examined.

This being done, they impeached the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-

Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, of High Treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws, and to erect an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power. They declared, that they would pay the Engliſh and Scots Armies to the end of *May*, 1641. and aſſiſt the Prince *Palatine* with Men and Money to recover his Country. And now having the Charge of two Armies to pay, and all Men ſuſpecting they might be abruptly diſſolved, as had often hapned before, and therefore refuſing to credit them with ſuch Sums as were neceſſary, unleſs an Act might paſs to ſecure their ſitting till they ſhould think fit to diſſolve themſelves by Act of Parliament; the King gave his Aſſent to one drawn up and paſſed to that purpoſe. Another Act likewiſe paſſed to aſſert, that according to the antient Fundamental Laws of *England*, a Parliament ought to be held every Year, and directing, that in caſe one was not called in three Years, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal ſhould iſſue out Writs, as is therein expreſſed; and if he fail in his Duty, he is declared guilty of High Treaſon, and a certain number of Lords impowered to ſummon the ſaid Parliament: and if they ſhould neglect ſo to do, the Sheriffs and Conſtables are veſted with the ſame Authority. But if it ſhould happen that all the forementioned Powers ſhould be wanting in their Duty, the People of *England* are thereby authorized to put the ſaid Act in execution, by meeting and electing Members to ſerve in Parliament,

liament, tho not ſummoned by any Officers appointed to that end.

The Parliament then proceeded to correct the Abuſes that had been introduced in the preceding Years: Whereupon *the Star-Chamber*, *the High Commiſſion Court*, *the Court of Honour*, with ſome others, were taken away by Act of Parliament; and the Power of the Council-Table reſtrained. The Commiſſioners of the Cuſtom-Houſe, who had collected Cuſtoms contrary to Law, were fined; and ſuch as had been impriſoned by any of the above-mentioned Arbitrary Courts, were ſet at liberty.

A Proteſtation was alſo agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, which they took, and preſented to others to take; whereby all thoſe that took it, obliged themſelves to defend and maintain the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to bring to condign Puniſhment all thoſe who ſhould by Force, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary, and to ſtand by and juſtify all ſuch as ſhould do any thing in proſecution of the ſaid Proteſtation.

The Day prefix'd for the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial being come, he was brought before the Houſe of Peers; where the Charge againſt him was managed by Members of the Houſe of Commons appointed to that end. The chief Heads of the Accuſation were; That he had

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governed the Kingdom of *Ireland* in an Arbitrary manner: That he had retained the Revenues of the Crown without rendring a due Account of them: That he had encouraged and promoted the Romiſh Religion: That he had endeavoured to create Feuds and Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland:* That he had laboured to render the Parliament ſuſpected and odious to the King: That he was the Author of that Advice, *That ſince the Parliament had denied to grant the King ſuch Supplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raiſe them by ſuch Means as he thought fit; and that he had an Iriſh Army that would aſſiſt him to that end.* It being the Cuſtom that a Lord High Steward ſhould be made to preſide at the Trial of a Peer, that Honour was conferred upon the Earl of *Arundel.* The King, the Queen, the Houſe of Commons, the Deputies of *Scotland* and *Ireland,* with many other Perſons of Quality of both Sexes, were there preſent. I remember the Earl of *Strafford* in his Defence objected againſt the Evidence of the Earl of *Cork,* denying him to be a competent Witneſs, becauſe his Enemy. To which *George* Lord *Digby,* who was appointed one of the Managers of the Charge againſt him, replied; That if that Objection ſhould be of any weight with the Court, the Earl of *Strafford* had found out a certain way to ſecure himſelf from any farther Proſecution. Yet this Man who then ſpoke with ſo much Vigour, ſoon after altered his Language, and made

made a Speech to the Houſe in his favour, which he cauſed to be printed; and alſo ſurreptitiouſly withdrew a Paper from the Committee, containing the principal Evidence againſt the ſaid Earl. The Parliament reſenting this Prevarication, ordered his Speech to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

The Houſe of Commons having paſſed a Bill for the Condemnation of the Earl, it was carried to the Lords for their Concurrence, which they gave. The King not ſatisfied therewith, conſulted with the Privy Council, ſome Judges, and four Biſhops. And all of them, except one, adviſe the throwing of *Jonas* over-board for the appeaſing of the Storm. Upon which the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, and two more were commiſſionated by the King to ſign the Warrant for his Execution: Which they did upon the twelfth of *May* following; and the 22*d* of the ſame Month the Earl of *Straford* was beheaded accordingly.

At this time a treacherous Deſign was ſet on foot, not without the Participation of the King, as appear'd under his own Hand, to bring up the Engliſh Army, and by Force to diſſolve the Parliament; the Plunder of *London* being promiſed to the Officers and Souldiers as a Reward for that Service: This was confeſſed by the Lord *Goring*, Mr. *Piercy*, and others. The Scots Army was alſo tried, and the four Northern Counties offered to be given to them in caſe they will undertake the ſame

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Design. And tho neither of these Attempts did succeed, yet the King pleased himself with hopes, that a seasonable time for dissolving the Parliament would come; and then all Power reverting into his own Hands, he would deal with their new enacted Laws as he had done before with the *Petition of Right*, and with their Members as he had done with those of the former Parliaments. And that he might not long languish in this Expectation, he sent to the House, desiring that at once they would make their full Demands, and prepare Bills accordingly for his Assent, assuring them of his Readiness to comply with their Desires. But they perceiving the Design, return'd for answer: That they could not suddenly resolve on so weighty a Work, but would do it with all possible speed. In the mean time, to improve the present Opportunity, they prevail with the King to pass an Act for the Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords; for tho he was unwilling to grant the Parliament any thing, yet the State of his Affairs was such, that he durst deny them no reasonable thing. And now having paid to the Scots and English Armies what was due to them, they dismissed them to their respective homes.

The King having laid his Designs in *Ireland*, as will afterwards appear, was, not without great Difficulty, prevailed with by the Parliament, to consent to the disbanding of those eight thousand Irish Papists that had been raised there

there by the Earl of *Strafford*. Soon after which he reſolved upon a Journey to *Scotland*; and tho the Parliament endeavoured to diſſwade him from it, or at leaſt to defer it to a fitter Opportunity, he refuſed to hearken to them, under pretence that the Affairs of that Kingdom neceſſarily required his Preſence: but in truth his great buſineſs was, to leave no means unattempted to take off that Nation from their Adherence to the Parliament of *England*. Before his Departure he ſigned a Commiſſion to certain Perſons, impowering them to paſs the Bills that ſhould be tender'd in his Abſence.

Whilſt he was about this Work in *Scotland*, the News of the Iriſh Rebellion was brought to him; that the Papiſts throughout that Kingdom were in Arms; that their Deſign to ſurprize and ſeize the Caſtle of *Dublin* had not ſucceeded, being diſcovered by one *O Connelly*, a Servant of Sir *John Clotworthy*'s; and that the Lord *Macquire* and *Mac-mahon*, who were appointed to that end, were taken, and ſent into *England*, where they were ſoon after executed for the ſame. The News of this Rebellion (as I have heard from Perſons of undoubted Credit) was not diſpleaſing to the King, tho it was attended with the Maſſacre of many thouſands of the Proteſtants there.

Having made what Progreſs he could in *Scotland*, confirming by Act of Parliament not only what he had formerly granted them, but alſo what they had done in their Aſſembly at

Glaſcow, and in effect whatſoever they deſired of him, he returned to *London*; where being received with Acclamations, and treated at the Expence of the City, he became elevated to that degree, that in his firſt Speech to the Commons he ſharply reproved them, for that inſtead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their Demands and Diſſatisfactions: Whereupon the Parliament were confirmed in their Suſpicions, that he deſign'd to break what he had already granted, ſo ſoon as he had Opportunity and Power in his hands, to plead that he was under a Force, as ſome of his Predeceſſors had done, and ſo reverſe what had been enacted for the Good of the People; revenge himſelf on thoſe who had been Inſtruments in compelling him thereto, and fortify himſelf againſt the like for the future. Theſe Apprehenſions made them earneſtly inſiſt upon ſettling the Militia of the Nation in ſuch Hands as both Houſes of Parliament ſhould recommend to him, particularly repreſenting the great Diſſatisfaction of the City of *London* that Sir *William Balfour*, for refuſing to permit the Earl of *Strafford* to eſcape, was diſmiſſed from his Charge of Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the Government of it put into the hands of one *Lunsford*, a Souldier of Fortune, of a profligate Converſation, and fit for any wicked Deſign. With much difficulty this *Lunsford* was removed, and Sir *John Conyers* put into his place: but the Parliament and City not ſatisfi-

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ed with this Choice, and having discovered that Sir *John Suckling*, under pretence of raising a Regiment for *Portugal*, was bringing together a number of Men to seize the *Tower* for the King, it was at last entrusted to the Custody of the Lord Mayor of *London*.

About this time great Numbers of English Protestants flying from the bloody Hands of the Irish Rebels, arrived in *England*, filling all Places with sad complaints of their Cruelties to the Protestants of that Kingdom. Whereupon the Parliament earnestly pressed the King to proclaim them Rebels, but could not obtain it to be done till after many Weeks; and then but forty of those Proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published: which was the more observed and resented, by reason of the different Treatment that the Scots had met with, who no sooner appeared in a much better Cause, but they were forthwith declared Rebels in every Parish-Church within the Kingdom of *England*. The Rebels in *Ireland* pretended a Commission from the King for what they did, which so alarm'd the People of *England*, that the King thought himself necessitated to do something therein; and therefore to carry on his Design, he acquainted the Parliament, that when an Army was raised, he would go in Person to reduce them: but they apprehending this pretended Resolution to be only in order to put himself at the Head of an Army, that he might reduce the Parliament

to his Will, refuſed to conſent; and procured an Act to paſs, for the leaving of that War to the management of the two Houſes; the King obliging himſelf not to give Terms to any of the Rebels, or to make Peace with them without the Parliament's Conſent. In this Act Proviſion was made for the ſatisfying of ſuch as ſhould advance Money for the reduction of *Ireland*, out of the Rebels Lands, in ſeveral Provinces, according to the Rates therein mentioned: Upon which conſiderable Sums of Money were ſoon brought in. The Parliament neglecting no Opportunity to carry on this neceſſary Work, procured ſome Forces to be ſent from *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, and put into their hands the Town and Caſtle of *Carrickfergus*: They alſo diſpatched ſeveral Regiments of Engliſh thither, who were bleſſed with wonderful Succeſs againſt the Rebels, particularly about *Dublin*, where the Earl of *Ormond* commanded. Thoſe of the Engliſh Pale by fair Pretences procured Arms to be delivered to them, yet baſely cut off a Party of five or ſix hundred Men ſent to relieve Sir *Richard Titchburn*, then beſieged at *Droghedah*, who finding no hopes of Relief, made his Retreat to *Dublin* by Sea. The Lord *Forbes*, a Scots-man, was ſent with a Party into *Munſter*, where he greatly annoyed the Enemy; and being furniſhed with ſome Ships, ſailed up the *Shannon*, and ſecured ſeveral Places upon that River, particularly *Bonratte*, the Reſidence of

of the Earl of *Thomond*, where he found about threeſcore Horſe fit for Service. Major *Adams* was made Governour of that Houſe: But the Enemy frequently reſorting to a Place called *Six-Miles-Bridg*, about two or three Miles from thence, the Engliſh preſſed the Earl to aſſiſt them to fall upon the Iriſh; who unwilling to oppoſe the Engliſh Intereſt, and no leſs to make the Rebels his Enemies, endeavoured to excuſe himſelf; yet upon ſecond thoughts reſolved to comply, if ſome care might be taken to ſpare his Kindred: Whereupon ſome of the Engliſh Officers propoſing to him that his Relations ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome Mark, and he concluding it to be in order to ſecure them to the Engliſh Intereſt, choſe rather to withdraw himſelf into *England*, and to leave his Houſe to the Souldiers, where (tho he pretended he had no Money to lend them to ſupply their wants) they found two thouſand Pounds buried in the Walls, which they made uſe of for the paiment of their Forces.

The King finding that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the Parliament than a thorow Correction of what was amiſs, and full Security of their Rights from any Violation for the future, conſidered how to put a ſtop to their Proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of looſe debauch'd Fellows about the Town to repair to *Whitehall*, where a conſtant Table was provided for their Entertainment. Many Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were tamper'd

with to assist him in his Design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publickly in my hearing; What! shall we suffer these Fellows at *Westminster* to domineer thus? *Let us go into the Country, and bring up our Tenants to pull them out.* Which Words not being able to bear, I questioned him for them; and he either out of fear of the publick Justice, or of my Resentment, came to me the next Morning, and asked pardon for the same; which by reason of his Youth, and want of Experience, I passed by. By these Actions of the King the Suspicions of the Parliament were justly increased, and therefore they desired leave to provide a Guard to secure themselves from Violence; which the King refused to grant, unless it might be of his own Appointment, alledging that their Fears were groundless: But they thought otherwise, being convinced that neither what had been already done was sufficiently secured, unless the Militia might be placed in such hands as they could trust; nor themselves safe, unless attended by a Guard of their own Nomination.

The King's violent ways not succeeding, he fell upon other Measures in appearance more moderate, yet continued his Resolution to subdue the Parliament: and to colour his Proceedings with a Form of Law, he sent Sir *Edward Herbert* his Attorny General, and a Member of the House of Commons, to accuse of High Treason, in the Name of his Majesty, Mr. *William*

William Stroud, Mr. *John Pym*, Mr. *John Hampden*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Members of that Houſe; and the Lord *Kimbolton* of the Houſe of Lords: acquainting them, that he intended to proceed againſt them according to Law, upon the following Articles:

1. That they intended to change the Government of the State, and to diſpoſſeſs the King of his Sovereign and Lawful Power, and to attribute to Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.

2. That by falſe Reports and Calumnies ſown againſt his Majeſty, they had endeavoured to alienate from him the Affections of his People.

3. That they had done their utmoſt to debauch the Troops of his Majeſty, and to engage them in their perfidious Deſigns.

4. That they had traitorouſly ſought to overthrow the Rights and true Form of Parliaments.

5. That they had uſed Force and Terror to conſtrain the Parliament to engage in their pernicious Deſigns; and to that end had ſtirred up Tumults againſt the King and Parliament.

6. That they had by a great Treaſon reſolved to raiſe Arms, and had actually raiſed Arms againſt the King.

7. That they had endeavoured to procure a Foreign Power to invade *England*.

Upon this the Houſe made anſwer to the Attorney General, that they were the proper Judges of their own Members: That upon his producing the Articles that he had to accuſe their Members with, and the conſideration of them, if they found cauſe, they would leave them to be proceeded againſt according to Law; but commanded him at his Peril not to proceed any farther againſt them, or any other Member, without their Conſent. After which they publiſhed a Declaration, forbidding the ſeizing of any of their Members without their Order; authorizing them to ſtand upon their Guard; and requiring all Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables, and other Officers and People, to be aſſiſting to them; and ſent the Attorny General to Priſon, for his Proceedings in this matter.

The King finding his Inſtruments thus diſcouraged, and being reſolved to remove all Obſtructions in his way, went in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons, attended not only with his ordinary Guard of Penſioners, but alſo with thoſe Deſperadoes that for ſome time he had entertained at *Whitehall*, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with Partizans, Sword and Piſtol. At the door of the Houſe he left his Guard commanded by the Lord *Roxberry*, entring, accompanied only by the Prince *Palatine*; where taking poſſeſſion of the Speaker's Chair, and not ſeeing thoſe that he looked for, he ſaid, *The Birds are flown.* For upon notice given by a Lady of the Court of the King's Inten-

Intention, they were retired into the City. The King then demanded of the Speaker where ſuch and ſuch were, naming the five Members: to which he anſwered in theſe Words; *I have neither Eyes to ſee, Ears to hear, nor Tongue to ſpeak in this place, ſave what this Houſe gives me.* The King replied, *I think you are in the right:* and then addreſſing himſelf to the Houſe, ſaid; That he was ſorry he had been neceſſitated to come thither: That no King of *England* had been more careful to preſerve the Privileges of Parliament than he deſired to be; but that thoſe five Members being dangerous Perſons, he had been obliged to purſue them, not by Force, but by the ordinary Forms of Juſtice: That he hoped the Parliament would ſend them to him, to juſtify themſelves, if they could; if not, he knew how to find them: Which ſaid, he retired. The Parliament ſenſible of this violation of their Privileges, and fearing they might be further intrenched upon, ordered a Committee of the Houſe to ſit in the City of *London*, whither their five Members were gone before for Protection. The King followed them thither with a ſlender, or rather no Guard, (ſo far was he from fearing either Parliament or City) deſigning to engage the Citizens to deliver up the five Members to him, and to ſtand by him in this horrid Enterprize; but they would not be perſwaded to comply with his Deſires in that matter. This violent Attempt proving unſucceſsful, the Parliament, to aſſert their

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juſt Rights, voted it to be a Breach of their Privileges; and that the like might be prevented for the future, after the Committee had ſat a few days in the City, they returned to *Weſtminſter*, accompanied with Guards from the City both by Land and Water. Which the King being informed of, and finding that the Deſign which he had laid had highly provoked the Parliament and People, he retired to *Hampton-Court*, whither thoſe that he had formerly entertained at *Whitehall* ſoon repaired; and at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* appeared in a military Poſture, with the Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* at the head of them. The two Houſes having notice thereof, deſired the King to diſperſe the ſaid Troops, and to return to the Parliament. The Lord *Digby* was alſo required to attend his Duty in the Houſe: but he being conſcious of his own Guilt, and knowing that the King's Affairs were not yet in a poſture to bid open defiance to the Parliament, choſe rather to betake himſelf to flight; as the Queen did ſoon after, upon notice that the two Houſes were about to accuſe her of High Treaſon: both of them deſigning not only to withdraw themſelves from the Proſecution of the Parliament, but alſo to make what Preparations they could for the raiſing of an Army againſt them: In order to which the Queen carried with her the Jewels of the Crown, and pawned them in *Holland* for Arms and Money. The Parliament having diſcovered that the Lord *Digby* had by a

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Letter adviſed the King to retire to ſome Place of Strength, and there to declare againſt them, they cauſed him to be proclaimed a Traitor: Notwithſtanding which, the King, inſtead of returning to *London* at the earneſt Deſire of both Houſes, in proſecution of the Lord *Digby*'s Counſel, went farther from them. During his Abſence many Papers paſſed between him and the Parliament. The chief Aim of thoſe of the latter was to perſwade the King to return to *London*, and to ſettle the Militia in ſuch hands as the Parliament ſhould adviſe; that ſo all Jealouſies between him and his People might be removed. Thoſe from the King were to let them know, that he could not part with the Militia, eſteeming it to be the beſt Jewel of his Crown; nor return to *London* with Safety to his Perſon. The Declarations on both ſides proving ineffectual, and the King's Deſigns both at home and abroad being grown ripe, he expreſſed his Diſſatisfactions more openly, and withdrew to *York*, where ſeveral Lords and others affected to his Intereſt, reſorted to him with Plate, Money, Men, Horſes and Arms: Amongſt whom were many Papiſts; who, tho to cover the King's Deſigns from the People, they were forbidden to come into the Court, were yet privately encouraged, and daily liſted and armed. And as the diſtance of *York* from the Parliament was one reaſon why the King went thither, ſo its Nearneſs to *Hull* was another. This Town he endeavoured to

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poſſeſs himſelf of, being a Place of Strength, where great Quantities of Arms and Ammunition had been laid up, upon disbanding the Army which was lately on foot in thoſe Parts, and very convenient for the landing of Men from *Holland*. But the Parliament ſuſpecting the Deſign, had ſent Sir *John Hotham* thither to keep and defend it for their uſe. Notwithſtanding which the King perſiſted in his Reſolution, and endeavoured, by ſending divers Perſons of Quality into the Town, to ſurpriſe it; but that way not taking effect, he appeared in Perſon before it, demanding Entrance of Sir *John Hotham*, which he abſolutely refuſed to permit; alledging, that he was entruſted with the Place by the Parliament for the Service of his Majeſty and the Nation, and that he could not ſurrender it without their Order. The King finding that he could not prevail either by Promiſes or Threatnings, cauſed Sir *John Hotham* to be proclaimed a Traitor, and returned to *York*; from whence he complained to the Parliament of the Affront he had received at *Hull*; who, to manifeſt their Approbation of Sir *John Hotham*'s Conduct, declared that he had done his Duty in denying the King admittance into the Town, aſſerting that the Command of the Militia was entruſted with the King to be employed for the Good of the Nation; of which the two Houſes of Parliament ſitting are the proper Judges.

The Parliament began now to provide for the

the Security of all Places, and ſent a Committee of four of their Members to invite the King to return to *Weſtminſter*, and to endeavour to promote their Intereſt in the Northern Parts: and being informed that there was laid up in the Town of *Leiceſter* a conſiderable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition provided for the County; and that Mr. *Haſtings*, then Sheriff, under pretence of bringing with him a Guard to attend the Judges at the Aſſizes, reſolved to ſecure the ſaid Magazine for the King's Uſe; they made choice of Officers for three Companies of Foot, impowering them to raiſe the ſaid Companies for the defence of the ſaid Magazine. The Captains nominated to this Employment were one Major *Grey*, Dr. *Baſtwick*, and one of my Brothers, who having been for ſome time in the Service of the States of *Holland*, was newly returned to *England*. Theſe three having received their Commiſſions from the Parliament, went to *Leiceſter*, in order to raiſe their Companies; which they had not fully effected, when the King with all his Cavalry, conſiſting of about two thouſand Horſe, arrived at *Leiceſter*; againſt whom three Companies being no way ſufficient to defend the Town, they reſolved only to ſecure that Place where the Magazine lay: but that not being large enough to receive more than one Company, the three Captains caſt Lots whoſe part it ſhould be to defend it; which falling upon Major *Grey*, the other two diſperſed their Men,

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and ſet forwards for *London*, but had not rode many Miles when they were ſeized by a Party of Horſe, which the King commanded the Sheriff to ſend after them, who brought them back to *Leiceſter*, from whence they were removed to *York*, where they were kept in the Common Goal, and very cruelly treated. Theſe were the firſt Priſoners taken on either ſide. The Magazine by Capitulation was diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the County, as properly belonging to them.

The Parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to perſwade the King to return to them, ſent down Propoſitions, directing their Commiſſioners at *York* to deliver them to him: And becauſe much of the Intentions of the Parliament appear in the ſaid Propoſals, and for that they were in effect the principal Foundation of the enſuing War, I conceive it will not be amiſs to recite them in this place, as they were agreed on by both Houſes the Second of *June*, 1642. with the Title of *their Humble Petition and Advice in Nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King*.

The

The most Humble and most Faithful Subjects of Your Majesty, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

" HAving nothing in their Thoughts and " Desires more precious, and of higher " Esteem, after the Honour and immediate " Service of God, than the just and faithful " discharge of their Duty towards Your Ma- " jesty and this Kingdom; and being most " sensible of the Destruction and Disorders, " and of the imminent Dangers and Miseries " which threaten your Majesty and Subjects, " the which have proceeded from the subtle In- " formations, malicious Practices, and wicked " Counsels of Persons ill-affected to the true " Religion of God, to the Peace and Honour " of your Majesty, and to the Good of the " Commonwealth; after a serious Considera- " tion of the Causes of these Mischiefs, in all " Humility and Sincerity they present to Your " Majesty this Petition and Advice, full of " Duty; to the end that by Your Royal Pru- " dence, for the Establishment of your Ho- " nour and Safety, and by a tender Sense of " the Good and Safety of your Subjects, and " your Estates, you may please to consent and " agree unto these humble Desires and Propos- " tions, as the most necessary and most effectu- " al means, by the Blessing of the Lord, to re-

" move

" move the Jealouſies and Differences that are
" unhappily begot between You and your Peo-
" ple, and to procure to You and them a con-
" ſtant Current of Honour, Peace and Happi-
" neſs.

Propoſition 1. " That the Lords and all others
" of your Majeſty's Privy Council, and ſuch
" other Chief Officers of State, as well with-
" in the Kingdom as on the other ſide of the
" Sea, be put out of all Offices and Employ-
" ments, except ſuch as the two Houſes of
" Parliament ſhall approve; and that thoſe
" who ſhall be put into their Places ſhall be ap-
" proved by Parliament; and that thoſe of the
" Council ſhall take an Oath for the due execu-
" tion of their Charge in ſuch Form as the Par-
" liament ſhall agree.

" 2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom
" ſhall not be concluded nor paſſed by the Ad-
" vice of private Perſons, nor by any Coun-
" ſellors unknown, or that ſhall not have taken
" Oath; but that ſuch Matters as concern
" the Publick, and are proper for the High
" Court of Parliament, that is your Majeſty's
" Great and Supreme Council, ſhall be debated,
" reſolved, and paſſed in Parliament, and
" there only; and thoſe who ſhall preſume to
" do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be ſubject
" to the Cenſure and Judgment of the Parlia-
" ment: And other Matters of State that are
" proper for the Privy Council of your Ma-
" jeſty, ſhall be debated and concluded by the

" Nobles,

" Nobles, and others who ſhall be choſen for " that end, from time to time, by the two " Houſes of Parliament; and that every pub- " lick Act that concerns the Affairs of the " Kingdom, and ſhall be agreed by the Coun- " cil, ſhall be eſteemed of no force, and as " not proceeding from the Royal Authority, " if at leaſt the greateſt part of your Council " have not conſented thereunto, and ſigned " the ſame; and that your Council ſhall be " brought to a certain Number that ſhall not " exceed twenty five, nor be under fifteen; " and if it happen that any Counſellor's Place " becomes void during the Intervals of Parlia- " ment, it ſhall be ſupplied by the Plurality " of Voices of thoſe of your Council, which " ſhall be either confirmed or voided at the " firſt Seſſions of Parliament.

" 3. That the Lord High Steward of *Eng-* " *land*, the Great Conſtable, the Chancellor, " the Keepers of the Seals, the Great Trea- " ſurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the " Earl Marſhal, the Admiral, the Governour " of the Cinque-Ports, the Lieutenant of *Ire-* " *land*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the " Maſter of the Court of Wards, the Secreta- " ries of State, the two Chief Juſtices, and " the Chief Baron, ſhall be choſen with the " Approbation of the two Houſes of Par- " liament, and in the Intervals of Parlia- " ment by the *major* part of the Privy " Council, with the Condition above men-

" tioned in the Choice of the Counſellors of " State.

" 4. That the Governour of the Children of " the King ſhall be choſen with the Approba- " tion of Parliament; and in the Intervals of " Parliament in the manner before-mentioned; " and of the Servants that are already about " them, the Parliament ſhall change ſuch as " they think fit.

" 5. That the Children of the King ſhall " not marry without the Advice of the Parlia- " ment; and thoſe who ſhall be employed " therein without their knowledg, ſhall be " puniſhed by the Parliament.

" 6. That the Laws againſt Popiſh Recu- " ſants ſhall be put in effectual execution, and " that thoſe of them who are Priſoners, ſhall " not be ſet at liberty without giving good Se- " curity.

" 7. That Papiſts ſhall have no Vote in " Councils, and that their Children ſhall be " brought up in the Proteſtant Religion.

" 8. That the Parliament ſhall reform the " Liturgy and the Government of the Church, " as they ſhall think fit, with the Advice of " Divines: That your Majeſty ſhall aſſiſt to " put a ſtop to Innovations, to expel ſuſpici- " ous and ſcandalous Miniſters, and for the " countenancing of a godly and preaching Mi- " niſtry throughout the Nation.

" 9. That it will pleaſe your Majeſty to con- " tent your ſelf with the Order that the Parlia-

" ment

" ment hath eſtabliſhed in the Militia, until an
" Act be agreed on for that purpoſe; and that
" your Majeſty will recal the Declarations and
" Proclamations againſt the Orders given there-
" in by the Parliament.

" 10. That every Member of Parliament
" that hath been put out of his Employment
" or Office, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, or Satiſ-
" faction given him.

" 11. That the Privy Counſellors and Judges
" ſhall take ſuch Oath as ſhall be agreed on by
" Parliament, for the doing of Juſtice, and
" obſerving the Statutes that ſhall be agreed on
" by this Parliament; and that Report be made
" every Seſſion of Parliament, of the evil Ad-
" miniſtration of Juſtice.

" 12. That all Officers ſhall enjoy their
" Places ſo long, and no longer than they be-
" have themſelves well therein.

" 13. That all Perſons ſhall be ſubject to
" the Juſtice of the Parliament, even altho
" they remove themſelves beyond the Seas.

" 14. That the Amneſty accorded by your
" Majeſty ſhall have ſuch Exceptions therein
" as the Parliament ſhall think fit.

" 15. That the Fortreſſes of the Kingdom
" ſhall have Governours of the Choice of your
" Majeſty, yet of the Approbation of the Par-
" liament, and in the Intervals of Parliament
" as is afore ſaid.

" 16. That the extraordinary Guard that
" your Majeſty hath at preſent about you, may

" be discharged, and that for the time to come " you will raise no such extraordinary Guards, " but according to Law, in case of actual Re- " bellion or Invasion.

" 17. That it will please your Majesty to " confirm your Leagues with the United Pro- " vinces, and other Princes of the Protestant " Religion, that you may be the more capable " to defend it against Popish Attempts; which " will bring much Reputation to your Majesty, " and encourage your Subjects to endeavour in " a Parliamentary way to re-establish your Sis- " ter and her Children, and other Princes, op- " pressed for the same Cause.

" 18. That it will please your Majesty to " clear, by an Act of Parliament, the Lord " *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the " House of Commons, so that future Parlia- " ments may be secured against the Conse- " quence of such ill Examples.

" 19. That it will please your Majesty of " your Grace to pass an Act, That the Peers " created hereafter shall have no Place nor " Voice in Parliament, at least unless they are " admitted thereunto by the Parliament.

" These humble Requests being granted un- " to us by your Majesty, we shall endeavour, " as we ought, to regulate the Revenue of your " Majesty, and to increase it more and more, " in such sort, that it shall support the Dignity " Royal with Honour and Abundance, beyond " whatever the Subjects of this Kingdom have

" allow-

" allowed to their Kings your Majeſty's Pre-
" deceſſors. We will put alſo the Town of
" *Hull* into ſuch Hands as your Majeſty ſhall
" pleaſe, with the Approbation of the Parlia-
" ment, and will give a good Account of the
" Munitions of War, and of the Magazine.
" And to conclude, we ſhall chearfully do our
" Endeavours to give unto your Majeſty Teſ-
" timony of our Affection, Duty and Faith-
" fulneſs, to preſerve and maintain your Royal
" Honour, the Greatneſs and Safety of your
" Majeſty, and of your Poſterity.

Theſe Propoſitions were delivered to the King by the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, but without Succeſs, he being reſolved to ſteer another Courſe, preſuming he might obtain as good Terms as theſe, if reduced to the laſt Extremity; and that if his Arms ſucceeded according to his Hopes, his Will might paſs for a Law, purſuant to the Opinion of thoſe who thought no way ſo likely to render his Authority abſolute, as the making of a War upon his People. And now the Fire began to break out in the Weſt; Sir *John Stawell* and others drawing a Party together in *Somerſetſhire* for the King, where Captain *Preſton* and others oppoſed them; and about *Martials Elm* on *Polden-Hill*, ſome of thoſe who declared for the Parliament were killed. Whereupon the Parliament ordered ſome Horſe to be raiſed, which they ſent down under the Command of the Earl of

Bedford, to protect their Friends in those Parts. By which means the Enemy being forced to quit the Field, betook themselves to the Castle of *Sherburn* in *Dorsetshire*, which after a short Siege was surrendred to the Parliament. *Portsmouth* was also secured for the Parliament by the young Lord *Goring*, then Governour thereof; but he afterwards declaring for the King, it was besieged and reduced by their Forces, and the Government of it entrusted to Sir *William Lewis*.

The King having set up his Standard at *Nottingham* the 24*th* of *August*, 1642. the Parliament thought themselves obliged to make some Preparations to defend themselves, having discovered that he had sent abroad to procure what Assistance he could against his People, particularly applying himself to the King of *Denmark*, acquainting him, that the two Houses, to make their Work sure against him, were endeavouring to prove Queen *Ann* a Whore, and thereby illegitimate all her Issue; earnestly pressing him in vindication of his injured Sister, as well as in consideration of his own relation to him, to send him Succours. This Letter was intercepted and brought to the Parliament, who by a Declaration protested that no such thing had ever entred into their Thoughts. The King also endeavoured, under pretence of Law, to take away the Lives of Dr. *Bastwick* and Captain *Robert Ludlow*, for acting in obedience to the Commands of the Parliament; and

and had proceeded to their Execution, had not the Parliament by a Meſſage ſent to Judg *Heath*, and delivered to him on the Bench, threatned a Retaliation, by executing two for one in caſe they went on, which put a ſtop to that Deſign.

The Parliament having paſſed the following Votes,

1. That the King ſeduced by evil Counſel, intends to levy War againſt the Parliament;
2. That when the King doth levy War againſt the Parliament, he breaks his Truſt, and doth that which tends to the Diſſolution of the Parliament;
3. That whoſoever ſhall aſſiſt him in ſuch a War, are Traitors, and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly;

prepared for the raiſing of an Army, and publiſhed ſeveral Declarations, inviting the good People of *England* to aſſiſt them with their Prayers, Perſons, and Purſes, to carry on this War, which they were neceſſitated to enter into for the Defence of the Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Parliament of *England*. The Proteſtation taken by both Houſes, and by them propoſed to the People, to ſtand by each other in their juſt and neceſſary Undertaking, was readily and chearfully taken by many in *London* and elſewhere; and divers hundreds on Horſeback from the Counties of *Buckingham*,

Hartford and *Eſſex*, came up with their ſeveral Petitions, acknowledging the Care and Faithfulneſs of the Parliament in the diſcharge of their Truſt, and promiſing to ſtand by them in the carrying on of what they had declared for.

Declarations were alſo ſet forth by the two Houſes, encouraging the People to provide Horſes and Arms, and to bring in Plate and Money for their neceſſary Defence, engaging the Credit of the Publick for the Reimburſement of what ſhould be ſo advanced. Which Contributions ariſing to the Value of a great Sum, they declared their Intentions of raiſing a certain Number of Horſe and Foot, with a proportionable Train of Artillery, and voted the Earl of *Eſſex* to be their General; whom the King (to take him off from the Publick Intereſt) had lately made Chamberlain of his Houſhold. Upon the ſame account he had alſo preferred the Lord *Say* to be Maſter of the Court of Wards, and Mr. *Oliver St. Johns* to be his Solicitor General. But this could not corrupt the Earl of *Eſſex*, nor hinder him from diſcharging vigorouſly that Truſt which the Parliament had repoſed in him. Divers of the Lords and Commons engaged their Lives with him, and under him: Of the Lords, the Earl of *Bedford*, who was General of the Horſe, the Lord *Peterborough*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Denbigh*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*; and of the Commons, Mr. *Hampden* and Mr. *Hollis*, who raiſed Regiments;

giments; Sir *Philip Stapylton*, who commanded the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Guard, and Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, who commanded a Troop of Horſe, and divers others. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral, ſtaid with the Parliament. The Earl of *Warwick*, whom they made Vice-Admiral, kept the greateſt part of the Fleet in obedience to them.

Things being brought to this Extremity, the Nation was driven to a neceſſity of Arming in defence of the Laws, openly and frequently violated by the King; who had made it the chief buſineſs of his Reign to invade the Rights and Privileges of the People, raiſing Taxes by various Arts without their Conſent in Parliament; encouraging and preferring a formal and ſuperſtitious Clergy, diſcouraging the ſober and vertuous amongſt them; impoſing upon all the Inventions of Men in the room of the Inſtitutions of God: And knowing that Parliaments were the moſt likely means to rectify what was amiſs, to give a check to his Ambition, and to puniſh the principal Inſtruments of that illegal Power which he had aſſumed, had endeavoured either to prevent their Meeting, or to render them fruitleſs to the People, and only ſerviceable to his corrupt ends, by granting him Money to carry on his pernicious Deſigns: A Parliament being now called, and an Act paſſed, authorizing them to ſit till they ſhould think fit to diſſolve themſelves: And it being manifeſt to them, and to all thoſe who had

had any Concern for the Happineſs of the Nation, that the King would do nothing effectually to redreſs the preſent, or to ſecure the People from future Miſchiefs; chuſing rather to contend with them by Arms, than for their ſatisfaction to entruſt the Militia in faithful Hands; reſolving to impoſe that by the Force of his Arms which he could not do by the Strength of his Arguments: I thought it my Duty, upon conſideration of my Age and vigorous Conſtitution, as an Engliſh-man, and an Invitation to that purpoſe from my Father, to enter into the Service of my Country, in the Army commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex* under the Authority of the Parliament. I thought the Juſtice of that Cauſe I had engaged in to be ſo evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much Difficulty. For tho I ſuppoſed that many of the Clergy, who had been the principal Authors of our Miſeries, together with ſome of the Courtiers, and ſuch as abſolutely depended upon the King for their Subſiſtence, as alſo ſome Foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could not think that many of the People, who had been long oppreſſed with heavy Burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtained a Parliament, compoſed of ſuch Perſons as were willing to run all Hazards to procure a laſting Settlement for the Nation, would be either ſuch Enemies to themſelves, or ſo ungrateful to thoſe they had truſted, as not to ſtand by them to the utmoſt of their Power: at leaſt

(tho

(tho ſome might not have ſo much Reſolution and Courage as to venture *All* with them, yet) that they would not be ſo treacherous and unworthy, to ſtrengthen the Hands of the Enemy againſt thoſe who had the Laws of God, Nature and Reaſon, as well as thoſe of the Land on their ſide. Soon after my Engagement in this Cauſe, I met with Mr. *Richard Fynes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and Mr. *Charles Fleetwood*, Son to Sir *Miles Fleetwood*, then a Member of the Houſe of Commons; with whom conſulting, it was reſolved by us to aſſemble as many young Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of which we then were, and others, as ſhould be found diſpoſed to this Service, in order to be inſtructed together in the uſe of Arms, to render our ſelves fit and capable of acting in caſe there ſhould be occaſion to make uſe of us. To this end we procured a Perſon experienced in military Affairs to inſtruct us in the uſe of Arms; and for ſome time we frequently met to exerciſe at the *Artillery-Ground* in *London*. And being informed that the Parliament had reſolved to raiſe a Life-Guard for the Earl of *Eſſex*, to conſiſt of a hundred Gentlemen, under the Command of Sir *Philip Stapylton*, a Member of Parliament, moſt of our Company entred themſelves therein, and made up the greateſt part of the ſaid Guard; amongſt whom were Mr. *Richard Fynes*, Mr. *Charles Fleetwood*, afterwards Lieutenant General, Major General *Harriſon*, Colonel *Nathanael Rich*, Colo-

Colonel *Thomlinſon*, Colonel *Twiſleton*, Colonel *Boſewell*, Major *Whitby*, and my ſelf, with divers others. It was not long before the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex* was raiſed, and ready to march; ſo cheerfully did the People, hoping that the time of their Deliverance was come, offer their Perſons and all that was neceſſary for the carrying on of that Work. The appearance for the King was not very conſiderable whilſt he continued at *York*; but when he removed to *Shrewsbery*, great Numbers out of *Wales* and the adjacent Parts reſorted to him. The Earl of *Eſſex* having notice that the King directed his March that way, advanced with his Army towards *Worceſter*; and upon his approach to that Town received Advice, that a Detachment commanded by Prince *Rupert* had poſſeſſed themſelves of it for the King; and that a Party of ours impatient of Delay, had engaged the Enemy before our General could come up, with great Diſadvantage, as I afterwards obſerved upon view of the Place. Ours conſiſted of about a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, the Enemy being more in number, and drawn up in a body, within Muſquet-ſhot of a Bridg between *Parſhot* and *Worceſter*, over which our Men reſolved to march and attack them; but before half their number was got over, not being able to advance above eight or ten abreaſt by reaſon of a narrow Lane through which they were to paſs, till they came within Piſtol-ſhot of the Enemy,

Enemy, they were engaged, and forced to retreat in Disorder, tho they did as much as could well be expected from them upon so disadvantageous a Ground. Some were killed upon the place; amongst whom was Major *Gunter*, a very gallant Man, who, as I have heard, had endeavoured to diſſwade them from that Attempt; others were drowned, and divers taken Prisoners; of the last was Colonel *Sands*, who commanded the Party, and was carried to *Worcester*, where, being mortally wounded, he soon died, with all possible Expressions of his hearty Affection to the Publick Cause. The Body of our routed Party returned in great Disorder to *Parshot*, at which place our Life-Guard was appointed to quarter that Night; where, as we were marching into the Town, we discovered Horsemen riding very hard towards us with drawn Swords, and many of them without Hats, from whom we understood the Particulars of our Loss, not without Improvement, by reason of the Fear with which they were possessed, telling us, that the Enemy was hard by in pursuit of them: whereas it afterwards appeared, they came not within four Miles of that place. Our Life-Guard being for the most part Strangers to things of this nature, were much alarm'd with this Report; yet some of us unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered our selves to go out upon a further Discovery of the matter. But our Captain, Sir *Philip Stapyl-*

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ton not being then with us, his Lieutenant one *Bainham*, an old Souldier (a Generation of Men much cried up at that time) drawing us into a Field, where he pretended we might more advantageously charge if there should be occasion, commanded us to wheel about; but our Gentlemen not yet well understanding the difference between *wheeling about*, and *shifting for themselves*, their Backs being now towards the Enemy, whom they thought to be close in the Rear, retired to the Army in a very dishonourable manner, and the next Morning rallied at the Head-quarters, where we received but cold Welcome from the General, as we well deserved. The Night following the Enemy left *Worcester*, and retreated to *Shrewsbery*, where the King was; upon which the Earl of *Essex* advanced to *Worcester*, where he continued with the Army for some time, expecting an Answer to a Message sent by him to the King from the Parliament, inviting him to return to *London*. This Time the King improved to compleat and arm his Men; which when he had effected, he began his March, the Earl of *Essex* attending him to observe his Motions: and after a day or two, on Sunday Morning, the 23*d* of *October*, 1642. our Scouts brought advice that the Enemy appeared, and about nine a Clock some of their Troops were discovered upon *Edge-hill* in *Warwickshire*. Upon this our Forces who had been order'd that Morning to their Quarters to refresh themselves, having had but little

little Reſt for eight and forty Hours, were immediately countermanded. The Enemy drew down the Hill, and we into the Field near *Keinton*. The beſt of our Field-pieces were planted upon our right Wing, guarded by two Regiments of Foot, and ſome Horſe. Our General having commanded to fire upon the Enemy, it was done twice upon that part of the Army, wherein, as it was reported, the King was. The great Shot was exchanged on both ſides for the ſpace of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the Foot began to engage, and a Party of the Enemy being ſent to line ſome Hedges on our right Wing, thereby to beat us from our Ground, were repulſed by our Dragoons without any Loſs on our ſide. The Enemy's Body of Foot, wherein the King's Standard was, came on within Muſquet-ſhot of us; upon which we obſerving no Horſe to encounter withal, charged them with ſome Loſs from their Pikes, tho very little from their Shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former Station, whither we were no ſooner come, but we perceived that thoſe who were appointed to guard the Artillery were marched off: and Sir *Philip Stapylton* our Captain wiſhing for a Regiment of Foot to ſecure the Cannon, we promiſed to ſtand by him in defence of them, cauſing one of our Servants to load and level one of them, which he had ſcarce done, when a Body of Horſe appeared advancing towards us from that ſide where the

Enemy

Enemy was. We fired at them with Caſe-ſhot, but did no other Miſchief ſave only wounding one Man through the Hand, our Gun being overloaded, and planted on high Ground; which fell out very happily, this Body of Horſe being of our own Army, and commanded by Sir *William Balfour*, who with great Reſolution had charged into the Enemy's Quarters, where he had nailed ſeveral pieces of their Cannon, and was then retreating to his own Party, of which the Man who was ſhot in the Hand was giving us notice by holding it up; but we did not diſcern it. The Earl of *Eſſex* order'd two Regiments of Foot to attack that Body which we had charged before, where the King's Standard was, which they did, but could not break them till Sir *William Balfour* at the head of a Party of Horſe charging them in the Rear, and we marching down to take them in Flank, they brake and ran away towards the Hill. Many of them were killed upon the place, amongſt whom was Sir *Edward Varney* the King's Standard-bearer, who, as I have heard from a Perſon of Honour, engaged on that ſide, not out of any good opinion of the Cauſe, but from the Senſe of a Duty which he thought lay upon him, in reſpect of his Relation to the King. Mr. *Herbert* of *Glamorganſhire*, Lieutenant Colonel to Sir *Edward Stradling*'s Regiment, was alſo killed, with many others that fell in the Purſuit. Many Colours were taken, and I ſaw Lieutenant Colonel *Middleton*,

dleton, then a Reformade in our Army, displaying the King's Standard which he had taken: but a Party of Horse coming upon us, we were obliged to retire with our Standard; and having brought it to the Earl of *Essex*, he delivered it to the Custody of one Mr. *Chambers* his Secretary, from whom it was taken by one Captain *Smith*, who, with two more, disguising themselves with Orange-colour'd Scarfs, (the Earl of *Essex*'s Colour) and pretending it unfit that a Penman should have the Honour to carry the Standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the King, for which Action he was knighted. Retreating towards our Army, I fell in with a body of the King's Foot, as I soon perceived; but having passed by them undiscovered, I met with Sir *William Balfour*'s Troop, some of whom who knew me not would have fired upon me, supposing me to be an Enemy, had they not been prevented, and assured of the contrary by Mr. *Francis Russell*, who with ten Men well mounted and armed, which he maintained, rode in the Life-Guard, and in the heat of the pursuit had lost sight of them, as I my self had also done.

I now perceived no other Engagement on either side, only a few great Guns continued to fire upon us from the Enemy: but towards the close of the Day we discovered a body of Horse marching from our Rear on the left of us under the Hedges, which the Life-Guard (whom I had then found) having discovered to be the

Enemy, and resolving to charge them, sent to some of our Troops that stood within Musquet-shot of us to second them; which tho they refused to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a Gap in the Hedg, we advanced towards them, and falling upon their Rear, killed divers of them, and brought off some Arms. In which Attempt being dismounted, I could not without great difficulty recover on Horse-back again, being loaded with Cuirassiers Arms, as the rest of the Guard also were. This was the Right Wing of the King's Horse commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who taking advantage of the Disorder that our own Horse had put our Foot into, who had opened their Ranks to secure them in their Retreat, pressed upon them with such Fury, that he put them to flight. And if the time which he spent in pursuing them too far, and in plundering the Wagons, had been employed in taking such Advantages as offered themselves in the place where the Fight was, it might have proved more serviceable to the carrying on of the Enemy's Designs. The Night after the Battle our Army quartered upon the same Ground that the Enemy fought on the day before. No Man nor Horse got any Meat that Night, and I had touched none since the Saturday before, neither could I find my Servant who had my Cloak, so that having nothing to keep me warm but a Sute of Iron, I was obliged to walk about all Night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp Frost.

Towards Morning our Army having received a Reinforcement of Colonel *Hampden*'s and ſeveral other Regiments, to the number of about four thouſand Men, who had not been able to join us ſooner, was drawn up; and about Day-light we ſaw the Enemy upon the top of the Hill: ſo that we had time to bury our Dead, and theirs too if we thought fit. That Day was ſpent in ſending Trumpeters to enquire whether ſuch as were miſſing on both ſides were killed, or Priſoners. Thoſe of ours taken by the Enemy were the Lord *St. Johns*, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his Death a full Satisfaction and Cheerfulneſs to lay down his Life in ſo good a Cauſe; Colonel *Walton* a Member of Parliament, and Captain *Auſtin* an eminent Merchant in *London*; of whom the laſt died through the hard Uſage he received in the Goal at *Oxford*, to which he was committed. It was obſerved that the greateſt Slaughter on our ſide was of ſuch as ran away, and on the Enemy's ſide of thoſe that ſtood; of whom I ſaw about threeſcore lie within the compaſs of threeſcore Yards upon the Ground whereon that Brigade fought in which the King's Standard was. We took Priſoners the Earl of *Lindſey*, General of the King's Army, who died of his Wounds; Sir *Edward Stradling*, and Colonel *Lunsford*, who were ſent to *Warwick-Caſtle*. That Night the Country brought in ſome Proviſions; but when I got Meat I could ſcarce eat it, my Jaws

for want of uſe having almoſt loſt their natural Faculty.

Our Army was now refreſhed, and Maſters of the Field; and having received ſuch a conſiderable Addition of Strength as I mentioned before, we hoped that we ſhould have purſued the Enemy, who were marching off as faſt as they could, leaving only ſome Troops to face us upon the top of the Hill: but inſtead of that, for what reaſon I know not, we marched to *Warwick*; of which the Enemy having notice, ſent out a Party of Horſe under Prince *Rupert*, who on Tueſday Night fell into the Town of *Keinton*, where our ſick and wounded Souldiers lay, and after they had cruelly murdered many of them, returned to their Army. The King, as if Maſter of the Field, marched to *Banbury*, and ſummoned it; and tho about a thouſand of our Men were in the Town, yet pretending it not to be ſufficiently provided for a Siege, they ſurrendred it to him. From thence the King went to *Oxford*, and our Army after ſome Refreſhment at *Warwick* returned to *London*, not like Men that had obtained a Victory, but as if they had been beaten. The Parliament ordered them to be recruited; and about the ſame time ſent to the King, who was advanced with part of his Army to *Maidenhead*, or thereabouts, to aſſure him of their earneſt Deſire to prevent the effuſion of more Blood, and to procure a right Underſtanding between his Majeſty and Them. The King in

 his

his Anſwer, which was brought by Sir *Peter Killegrew*, profeſſed to deſire nothing more, and that he would leave no means unattempted for the effecting thereof. Upon which Anſwer the Parliament thought themſelves ſecure, at leaſt againſt any ſudden Attempt: But the very next day the King taking the advantage of a very thick Miſt, marched his Army within half a Mile of *Brentford* before he was diſcovered, deſigning to ſurprize our Train of Artillery, (which was then at *Hammerſmith*) the Parliament and City; which he had certainly done, if two Regiments of Foot and a ſmall Party of Horſe that lay at *Brentford* had not with unſpeakable Courage oppoſed his Paſſage, and ſtopt the March of his Army moſt part of the Afternoon: During which time the Army that lay quarter'd in and about *London* drew together; which ſome of them, and particularly the Life-Guard, had opportunity the ſooner to do, being at that very time drawn into *Chelſey*-Fields to muſter, where they heard the Vollies of Shot that paſſed between the Enemy and our little Party; the Diſpute continued for ſome Hours, till our Men were encompaſſed quite round with Horſe and Foot; and then being over-power'd with Numbers on every ſide, many brave and gallant Men having loſt their Lives upon the Place, the reſt chuſing rather to commit themſelves to the Mercy of the Water, than to thoſe who were engaged in ſo treacherous a Deſign, leap'd into

the River, where many Officers and private Souldiers were drowned, and some taken Prisoners. However the Enemies Design was by this means defeated, and they discouraged from any farther Attempt that Night. The Parliament also were alarm'd in such a manner with the Danger and Treachery of this Enterprize, that they used all possible Diligence to bring their Forces together, so that by eight of the Clock the next Morning we had a Body of twenty thousand Horse and Foot drawn up upon *Turnham-green*, a Mile on this side *Brentford:* Those of ours also that lay at *Kingston* were marching to us by the way of *London.* The Enemy drew out a Party of theirs towards the Hill at *Acton*, which we attacked, and forced to retire in Disorder to their main Body. And here again, in the opinion of many judicious Persons, we lost, as at *Edge-hill* before, a favourable opportunity of engaging the Enemy with great Advantage, our Numbers exceeding theirs, and their Reputation being utterly lost in the last Attempt. But the Earl of *Holland* and others, pretending to encourage our Army by their Presence, made use of their time to dissuade the Earl of *Essex* from fighting till the rest of our Forces arrived; magnifying the Power of the Enemy to him, and thereby giving them an opportunity to draw off their Forces and Artillery towards *Kingston*, which they did as fast as they could, leaving only a body of Horse to face us between the two

Brent-

Brentfords, the reſt having ſecured themſelves by a timely Retreat: Upon this Party ſome of our great Guns, guarded by a Regiment of Foot, were, towards the Evening, ordered to be fired. The like Guard was drawn up in the High-ways to ſecure our Foot from any Attempt of Horſe that might be made upon them; which ſome Great Men, who pretended a Reſolution to fight in that Troop, blamed, charging the Adviſers thereof with Raſhneſs, in hazarding them in ſuch a Pound, where they muſt inevitably be cut off, if the Enemy ſhould advance upon them. But I fear this great care was only counterfeit, and that thoſe Perſons well knew the Enemy to be in a flying, and not in a charging Condition, as it quickly appeared; for our Cannon no ſooner began to play upon them, but they retired to the main Body of their Army, the Rear of which had by that time recovered *Hounſlow-heath*. The Enemy took up their Head-quarters at *Kingſton*, where, by the advantage of the Bridg over the *Thames*, they hoped to be able, tho inferiour in Number, to defend themſelves againſt a more numerous Army, if they ſhould be attacked, and to put in execution any Deſign they might have upon the City or Places adjacent. To prevent which our General cauſed a Bridg of Boats to be laid over the River between *Putney* and *Batterſey*, which was no ſooner finiſhed but the Enemy retired to *Oxford* by the way of *Reading*, which Place they fortified, and placed a

Garison therein, a Party of ours having quitted it upon their Approach. Garisons were also placed by them in the Towns of *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, and several others, as they had done before in *York* and *Shrewsbery*. Some of ours likewise had possessed themselves of *Gloucester*, *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Southampton*, *Dover*, and divers other Places. The Enemy being retired, our Army advanced to *Windsor*, and made it our Head-quarters for the most part of that Winter: and so desirous was the Parliament to prevent any further Effusion of Blood, that notwithstanding the treacherous Design of the late Expedition, they again sent Propositions of Peace to the King at *Oxford*, being the same in effect with those delivered to him before at *York*; but they found no better Reception than the others had done. I do not remember any thing remarkable perform'd by either Party this Winter, save only an Attempt of the Enemy upon one of our Quarters at *Henly*, where two Regiments of Foot, one of which was Major General *Skippon*'s, then were, who being tired with a long March, and dispersed to their respective Quarters, were fallen upon by a great body of the Enemy that had advanced to the Town's end undiscovered; but a small Party of our Men getting together, one of our Gunners hastned to the Artillery which was planted upon the Avenue, fired once or twice upon them, and made so great a Slaughter, especially of those Officers who were

at

at the head of their Party, that they retreated in great Disorder without any farther Attempt.

Our General having notice that the Enemy had a Design upon *Bristol*, sent a Party commanded by Colonel *Nathanael Fines* to reinforce that Garison; by which means it was prevented, and some of their Correspondents in the Town thereupon executed.

About this time Sir *Edward Hungerford* having obtained the Command of the Forces in the County of *Wilts* for the Parliament, invited me to raise a Troop of Horse in his Regiment: in order to which I attended him at the *Devizes*, and from thence went with him to *Salisbury*, where he seized some quantity of Horse and Arms from Persons disaffected, and with them mounted and armed part of his Men. And I having done what was convenient at that time for the raising of my Troop, returned to the Head-quarters at *Windsor*, where I gave them an account of the good Condition of Colonel *Fines* and Sir *Edward Hungerford*, at which they were not a little surprized, having been made to believe that they and their Troops were routed and cut in pieces by the Enemy. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Bevil Grecnvil*, and others, were very active in raising Forces for the King in *Cornwall*, and the remote parts of *Devonshire*, and had possessed themselves of *Pendennis*, *Dartmouth*, and *Barnstaple*, as Colonel *Ashburnham* and others had done of *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*. And the Parliament had ordered Gari-

Garisons to be put into *Plymouth*, *Lyme*, and *Pool*. In the Spring our Army was Master of the Field, the King making it his business to be only upon the defensive till the Queen should arrive in *England* with an Army to his Assistance, hoping to exhaust the Treasure of the City of *London* by Delays, and thereby to cause them to abate their Zeal for the Publick, omitting no opportunity by his Emissaries to create and foment Differences amongst them, endeavouring by all means to procure an Insurrection for him, to compel the Parliament to submit to such terms as he pleased to impose. The Earl of *Essex* marched with the Army to besiege *Reading*, a Frontier Town of the King's, which he had strongly fortify'd and garison'd. The General himself sat down on the North-west side, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* on the South-east side of the Town: the great Shot did some Damage to the Houses; from one of which a Tile falling upon the Head of Sir *Arthur Ashton*, a Papist, and Governour thereof, disabled him from executing that Charge during the rest of the Siege, and Colonel *Fielding* was made Governour in his room. The King thinking this Place to be of great Importance to him, brought together all the Forces he could; and marching on *Causam*-side in order to relieve it, was opposed by a small Party of ours, who taking the advantage of some Ditches and Pales to shelter themselves, repulsed his Men, and forced him to retreat to

Oxford,

Oxford. Upon this the Town was ſurrendred upon Articles to the Earl of *Eſſex*, Colonel *Fielding* the Governour retiring to *Oxford*, where he was tried, and condemned to die, but not executed.

At my coming into *Wiltſhire* with three more of the Life-Guard, two whereof were to be Officers in my Troop, and the third in another Troop of the ſame Regiment, I found Sir *Edward Hungerford* with the Forces of *Wilts*, and Colonel *Stroud* with part of thoſe of *Somerſetſhire*, beſieging *Warder*-Caſtle, before which they had been about a week, battering it with two ſmall Pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt ſave only to a Chimney-piece, by a Shot entring at a Window: But there being a Vault on each ſide of the Caſtle, for the conveying away of Filth, two or three Barrels of Powder were put into one of them, and being fired, blew up ſome part of it; which with the grazing of a Bullet upon the Face of one of the Servants, and the threatning of the Beſiegers to ſpring the other Mine, and then to ſtorm it, if it was not ſurrendred before an Hour-glaſs, which they had turn'd up, was run out, ſo terrified the Ladies therein, whereof there was a great Number, that they agreed to ſurrender it. The Government of this Caſtle was entruſted to my care by Sir *Edward Hungerford*, who left with me a Company of Foot commanded by Captain *Bean*, and my own Troop, to defend it. The Earl of *Marlborough* with

with ſome Horſe poſſeſſed himſelf of a Houſe in our Neighbourhood called *Fount-hill*, with a Deſign to block us up; but Sir *Edward* ſent a party of Horſe who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the Works that had been raiſed during the Siege, ſunk a Well, broke down the Vaults about the Caſtle, and furniſhed it with Proviſions, expecting to be beſieged, as I was ſoon after. For within a Fortnight after I was poſſeſſed of it, the Lord *Arundel*, to whom it belonged, and whoſe Father died ſoon after he had received News that it was taken, ſuppoſing to find me unprovided, came with a Party of Horſe, and ſummoned me to deliver the Place for his Majeſty's Uſe. Some who were with me adviſed me ſo to do; yet I return'd the Enemy anſwer, That I was entruſted to keep the Caſtle for the Service of the Parliament, and could not ſurrender it without their Command. The Enemy not being at that time ready to make any Attempt upon us, retreated to their main Body; of which tho the Marquiſs of *Hertford* carried the name of General, that thereby the Country might be encouraged to come in, yet Prince *Maurice*, as he had then the principal Influence over them, ſo he was ſoon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that Arbitrary and boundleſs Prerogative which the King endeavoured to ſet up over the People.

Having notice that ſome of the King's Forces were at *Salisbury*, I went out with ſix of my Troop

Troop to procure Intelligence, and to do what Service I could upon the Enemies Straglers: When I came to *Sutton*, I was informed that ſix of them were gone up the Town juſt before. Whereupon we made after them, and by their Horſes, which we ſaw tied in a Yard, ſuppoſed them to be in the Houſe to which it belonged: upon which I went in, and was no ſooner within the door but two of them ſhut it upon me; but my Party ruſhing in, they ran out at another, and eſcaped; a third mounted one of my Mens Horſes, and rid away; the other three who were in a Room of the Houſe, upon promiſe of quarter for Life, ſurrendred themſelves, with whom and ſix Horſes we returned to the Caſtle.

Our Army after they had poſſeſt themſelves of *Reading*, did nothing remarkable that Summer, only there hapned ſome Skirmiſhes, in one of which that moſt eminent Patriot Col. *Hampden* loſt his Life by a Shot in the Shoulder. Sir *William Waller* commanded a Party in the Weſt, with which he did conſiderable Service, tho it was ſo ſmall that he marched for the moſt part in the Night to conceal his Weakneſs. He reduced *Higham-houſe*, a place of Strength, gariſoned by the Enemy, and protected the Gentlemen of the Country whilſt they were raiſing Forces for the Parliament. And being joined by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s Regiment of Horſe, and the Forces of *Wilts*, *Somerſet* and *Dorſet*, with as many as could be ſpared from *Briſtol*; he

he was become so considerable, as to put a stop to the March of the King's Western Army; which coming to the Town where my Father's House was, wholly ruined it, and destroyed his Park. But upon their Removal from thence, conceiving I might take some Straglers, or some way or other annoy the Enemy, I went thither the Night after with about forty Horse, where tho I could hear of no Men, yet I found much Provision, which a Gentlewoman had obliged the People of the Town to bring together, and which she was preparing to send to the King's Army, with Horses and Carts ready to carry it; amongst which there was half a dozen Pasties of my Father's Venison ready baked, which, with as much of the other Provisions as we could, we carried away with us. The two Armies before-mentioned engaged about *Lansdown*, where the Success was doubtful a good while, but at last ours obtained the Victory. The Cornish-men commanded by Sir *Bevil Greenvil* stood their Ground till they came to push of Pike, but were then routed, and Sir *Bevil* killed. The Enemy retreated to the *Devizes*, and ours pursued them. The News of this Action being brought to us, I marched out with my Horse towards *Warminster*; and in the way searching the Houses of some Persons disaffected to the Publick, we found two of our most active Enemies, whom we carried away Prisoners. But the great Hopes we had conceived of enjoying some Quiet

et in the Weſt by the means of this Victory were ſoon blaſted; for a body of Horſe ſent from *Oxford* not being attended by any from our Army, (tho as I have heard commanded ſo to do) engaged our Horſe on *Roundway-hill*, where the Over-forwardneſs of ſome of our Party to charge the Enemy upon diſadvantageous Ground was the principal Cauſe of their Defeat. The Horſe being routed, our Foot alſo quitted their Ground, and ſhifted for themſelves; many of whom were taken, and many killed, the reſt retreated to *Briſtol*, where they made the beſt Preparation they could to defend themſelves, expecting ſuddenly to be beſieged, as it fell out. Sir *William Waller* with what Horſe he had left marched to *London*, where no means were omitted to recruit them. *Exeter* was ſurrendred to the Enemy upon terms, and *Briſtol* beſieged, which being ſtormed on one ſide, and ours not doing their Duty, part of the Enemy being entred, the Governour deſired to capitulate, and delivered up the Town upon Articles, which were not well kept, in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of *Reading*. The Governour of *Briſtol* was hereupon tried and condemned by a Court Martial, how juſtly I know not; but the Parliament ordered the execution of the Sentence to be ſuſpended. About this time a Gentleman of the Country, related to the Lord *Cottington*, deſired a Conference with me, wherein he endeavoured to perſwade me to

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ſurrender the Caſtle of *Warder*, promiſing me any Terms I would deſire, and aſſuring me that ſeveral of the Weſtern Gentlemen finding our Affairs deſperate, had made their Peace with the King, and that the Kentiſh Men who were riſen for him would be ſufficient to accompliſh his Work, tho he had no other Army. Alſo Colonel *Robert Philips*, my Friend and Kinſman, coming before the Caſtle ſome time after with a Party of Horſe, and deſiring to ſpeak with me, was earneſt with me to the ſame effect: my Anſwers to both were, that I had reſolved to run all Hazards in the diſcharge of that Truſt which I had undertaken.

The two Houſes of Parliament, notwithſtanding the many Difficulties they met with at home, having ſent over Forces to ſubdue the Rebels in *Ireland*, thought it alſo their Duty to ſend Recruits thither, and at the ſame time preſented the Earl of *Ormond* with a Jewel, as a Teſtimony of their acceptance of his Service at the Battle of *Roſſe*, where there was above forty of his own Name and Kindred killed upon the place, and the Enemy totally routed, tho for a long time they had much the better of the day.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* having been voted Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament, and approved by the King, wanted nothing but his Commiſſion to begin his Journey for that Kingdom, which after ſeveral Delays he received from the King; but being at *Cheſter* in order to take

take Shipping, the Carriages and Draught-Horſes which lay there for that Service, as alſo the Clothes and other Proviſions deſigned by the Parliament for the Souldiers in *Ireland*, were ſeized by the King's Order, and made uſe of for his Service here; whilſt his Agents there endeavoured to perſwade the Engliſh Souldiers in that Country, that they were neglected by the Parliament: Upon which falſe Suggeſtion he prevailed with them to ſerve him in *England* againſt the Parliament; and, contrary to his Engagement to both Houſes not to treat with the Rebels without their Concurrence, made a Ceſſation with them, and brought over many of them to ſerve in his Army againſt the Parliament: who being encompaſſed with Difficulties on all hands, and underſtanding that the Queen was landing with a conſiderable Strength at *Bridlington*-Bay in the County of *York*, ſent Commiſſioners to treat with their Friends in *Scotland* to march into *England* to their Aſſiſtance.

In the mean time the King's Army beſieged the City of *Gloceſter*, the King being there in Perſon to countenance the Siege. The Beſieged made a vigorous Defence for about a Month, during which the Parliament took care to recruit their Army in order to relieve them. Their Rendezvouz was appointed on *Hounſlow-heath*, whither ſome Members of Parliament (of which my Father was one) were ſent, to inſpect their Condition, that their Wants being known,

might be the better ſupplied; who found them a very ſhatter'd and broken Body: but the City being then very affectionate to the Publick, ſoon recruited them, and drew forth ſo many of their Trained Bands and Auxiliary Regiments, as made them up a gallant Army. In their March towards *Gloceſter* ſome of ours fell upon a Party of the Enemy at *Cirenceſter*, of whom they took many Priſoners, and ſeized a great quantity of Proviſions which they found prepared for the Enemy, who upon our Approach raiſed the Siege. The Earl of *Eſſex* having relieved the Town, was marching back again, when he perceived the Enemy endeavouring to get between him and *London*; and to that end falling upon his Rear with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, they ſo diſordered his Men, and retarded the March of his Army, that he found himſelf obliged to engage them at *Newbury*. The Diſpute was very hot on both ſides, and the Enemy had the better at the firſt; but our Men reſolving to carry their point, and the City-Regiments behaving themſelves with great Bravery, gave them before Night ſo little cauſe to boaſt, that the next Morning they were willing to permit the Earl of *Eſſex* to march to *London* without interruption. Few Priſoners were taken on either ſide: The Enemy had ſeveral Perſons of Quality killed; the principal of whom were the Earl of *Carnarvan*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Falkland*, and a French Marquiſs. We loſt a Colonel of one

of the City-Regiments, together with ſome inferiour Officers.

Some of the Lords and Commons, contrary to their Duty, withdrew themſelves from the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and went to the King at *Oxford*, where they met together, but never did any thing conſiderable for the King's Service, and ſhewed themſelves ſo little willing to aſſume the name of a Parliament, that the King in a Letter to the Queen (a Copy whereof was afterwards found amongſt his Papers) called them his *Mongrel Parliament*.

In the mean time the Earl of *Mancheſter* received a Commiſſion from the Parliament to raiſe Forces in the aſſociated Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridg*, *Huntington*, &c. which was very neceſſary: for the King was Maſter of all Places of Strength from *Berwick* to *Boſton*, except *Hull* and two ſmall Caſtles in *Lincolnſhire*; and *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax* not able to keep the Field againſt the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, was retired with his Horſe and Foot to *Hull*: the Enemies Strength in the North no way inferiour to what it was in the Weſt, and none conſiderable enough to oppoſe their March into the South.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, upon advice that the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town of *Gainsborough* for the Parliament, ſent his Brother Col. *Cavendiſh*, Lieutenant General of his Army, with a great Party of Horſe and Dragoons to ſummon it, him-

ſelf marching after with the Foot. Col. *Oliver Cromwell* having notice thereof, and underſtanding by freſh Experience that Victory is not always obtained by the greater Number, having lately defeated near *Grantham* twenty four Troops of the Enemies Horſe and Dragoons, with ſeven Troops only which he had with him, reſolved to endeavour the Relief of *Gainſborough*; and with twelve Troops of Horſe and Dragoons marched thither, where he found the Enemy, who were drawn up near the Town, to be more than thrice his Number, and no way to attack them but through a Gate, and up-hill; notwithſtanding which Diſadvantages he adventured to fall upon them, and after ſome Diſpute totally routed them, killing many of their Officers, and amongſt them Lieutenant General *Cavendiſh*. Thus was *Gainſborough* relieved; but the Conquerors had little time to rejoice, for within two or three hours the routed Enemy rallying, and joining with the reſt of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, marched againſt them: Upon which they retreated to *Lincoln* that night in good order, and without any Loſs, facing the Enemy with three Troops at a time as they drew off the reſt. *Lincoln* not being defenſible, Col. *Cromwell* marched the next day to *Boſton*, that he might join the Earl of *Manchester*, who with his new-rais'd Forces had very ſeaſonably reduced *Lynn*, a Town in *Norfolk* not far from the Sea, naturally ſtrong, and might have proved impregnable, if Time had

had favoured Art and Induſtry to have fortified and furniſhed it with Proviſions. But Sir *Hammond Leſtrange*, who had before ſurprized it for the King, was ſoon ſurprized himſelf; and being ſuddenly ſummoned by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and threatned with a Storm, after he had fired a few great Shot againſt the Beſiegers, thought fit to ſurrender it upon Articles. From thence the Earl of *Mancheſter* marched to *Boſton*, where being joined by Col. *Cromwell*, appointed by the Parliament to command under him, and a Party of Horſe brought by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* by Sea from *Hull*, he muſtered about ſix thouſand Foot, and thirty ſeven Troops of Horſe and Dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his Forces, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* advanced with his Army, and ſent a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons towards *Boſton*, appearing by their Standards to be eighty ſeven Troops, commanded by Sir *John Henderſon* an old Souldier, who hearing that Col. *Cromwell* was drawn out towards him with the Horſe and Dragoons, made haſte to engage him before the Earl of *Mancheſter* with the Foot could march up, as accordingly it fell out at a place called *Winsby-field* near *Horn-caſtle*. In the firſt ſhock Col. *Cromwell* had his Horſe kill'd under him; yet the Encounter was but ſhort, tho very ſharp, for there being Field-room enough, the Fight laſted but a quarter of an hour before the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Forces were totally routed, and many of them killed:

amongſt them the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other Perſons of Quality. The Enemy had no time to rally, being purſued by ours almoſt as far as *Lincoln*, which was fourteen Miles off; in which Purſuit divers of them were killed and made Priſoners, and many Horſe and Arms taken. Neither were they ſuffered to reſt at *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Manchester* marching thither the day following, where the Enemies broken Troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the City called *the Cloſe*, but had not quite finiſhed their Works when the Earl arrived, and ſummoned them to ſurrender; which they refuſing, our Foot and Horſe fell on and took it by ſtorm, with little loſs on our ſide.

About this time a conſiderable Party in *Kent* roſe and declared for the King, which was diſperſed by ſome Forces ſent from *London*, under the Command of Col. *Brown*; whereby the Committee of *Kent* were encouraged and enabled to raiſe a good Body of Horſe and Foot for the Service of the Parliament.

My Father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four Months, in caſe I were beſieged; and knowing that the Enemies were Maſters of the Field in thoſe Parts, and that I was about twenty Miles from any of our Gariſons, procured an Order from the Parliament, impowering me to ſlight the Caſtle of *Warder*, and to draw off the Gariſon, if I ſaw cauſe: which Care of theirs quickned my Zeal

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to their Service, and put me upon endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worſt. To that end being in want of Ammunition, I went to *Southampton*, where I bought what they could ſpare, and returned to the Caſtle; where being in great want of Money, having always paid the Country People for whatſoever I had from them, I made a ſeaſonable Diſcovery of Money, Plate and Jewels, to the value of about twelve hundred Pounds, walled up by the Enemy: Part of this Sum I expended upon the Gariſon, and gave an account thereof to the Parliament. The Enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually beſiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by Treachery. To this end one Capt. *White* a Papiſt, of *Dorſetſhire*, having found a Boy at *Shaftsbury* fit for the purpoſe, gave him ſuch Inſtructions as he thought fit: He was not above twelve Years of Age, and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poiſon his Grandfather. This Boy he ſent to the Caſtle to deſire of me to be admitted to turn the Spit, or perform any other ſervile Employment; to which I conſented, his Youth freeing him, as I thought, from any Suſpicion. About three or four days after a Party of the Enemies Horſe appeared before the Caſtle, and making a great ſhout, the Cattle belonging to the Gariſon, conſiſting of about forty Cows and one Bull, which they all followed, ran away at the Noiſe: Some of us endeavouring to turn them,

the Enemy fired so thick upon us, that one of my Souldiers and my self were forced to betake our selves to a Tree for shelter; where my Souldier levelling his Musquet through a hole of the Tree, which was about a Foot in diameter, a Ball from the Enemy grazing upon the upper part of the Hole, and thereby forced downwards, shot the young Man through the Hand, and me into the Leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great Wall-gun called a *Harquebuz de Croq* being fired from the top of the Castle, burst in the middle. At night as this Boy was sitting with the Guard by the fire, some of them conceived a Jealousy of him; and strictly examining him about the cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be because the Master whom he served had used him cruelly for speaking some Words in favour of the Parliament. With which Answer they not being satisfied, threatned that unless he would confess the truth, they would hang him immediately; and to affright him, tied a piece of Match about his Neck, and began to pull him up on a Halbert. Upon this he promised to confess all, if they would spare his Life; and thereupon acknowledged that Capt. *White* had hired him to number the Men and Arms in the Castle, to poison the Arms, the Well, and the Beer, to blow up the Ammunition, to steal away one of my best Horses, to carry him back to them; for which Service he was to receive half a Crown; confessing that he had accordingly

cordingly poiſoned two Cannon and the *Harquebuz* that was broken, but pretended that his Conſcience would not give him leave to poiſon the Water and the Beer. The great Guns were made ſerviceable again by oiling, and making a fire in them. The Poiſon he uſed was of a red Colour, and made up in the ſhape of a Candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our Guns. After this Deliverance we got in ſome Cattle for our Proviſion, but the Enemy drawing into the Villages about us, ſoon prevented us from bringing in any more: Yet we ventured one Morning, knowing it to be Market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty Pikes and Firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a Mile from the Caſtle upon the Road that leads to *Shaftsbury*. According to our expectation the Market-people came with Carts and Horſes loaded with Corn and other Proviſions, which we ſeized and ſent to the Caſtle, paying for it the Market-price, at which they were not a little ſurprized. By this means we furniſhed our ſelves with three Months more Proviſion than we had before; which we had no ſooner taken in, when the Enemy drew round the Caſtle, and from that time blocked us up more cloſely, raiſing a Breaſtwork by caſting up of Earth about a Tree which we had cut down on the ſide of a Hill; from whence they commanded the Gate of the Caſtle, the only way that we had to ſally out upon occaſion, and ſhot ſeveral of our Men, amongſt the reſt

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my Gunner, as they fetched in Wood. The Perſon that commanded the Party which lay before us was one Capt. *Chriſtopher Bowyer* of *Dorſetſhire*, who, to get us out of the Caſtle, propoſed to grant us what terms we deſired; to which we replied, that we deſigned to diſcharge our Duty by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatned us with great Numbers of Horſe and Foot, attended with ſeveral pieces of Cannon, which he ſaid were drawing towards us, boaſting of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and repreſenting to us the Greatneſs of our Danger, and the inevitable Ruin that muſt enſue upon our Obſtinacy: But Capt. *Bean*, who at that time ſerved as Cannoneer, ours being ſhot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his Menaces; but upon confidence of the Juſtice of our Cauſe, were reſolved to defend the Place to the utmoſt; and warning him to look to himſelf, fired a Gun, with which he wounded him in the Heel; and it being unſafe for any to carry him off by day, his Wound gangreened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of Capt. *Bowyer* one Col. *Barnes* was ſent by the King to command the Forces that lay before us: he was Brother to an honeſt Gentleman who was Chaplain to my Father, for whoſe ſake, and becauſe he had the Reputation of being an old Souldier, a thing much valued by the Parliament at that time, my Father had procured him a conſiderable Em-

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ployment in their Service, in which he continued as long as their constant Pay lasted, but that failing, he ran away to the King. Upon his coming he raised a Fort within Musquet-shot of us, on the Hill that surrounded the Castle, except only on the West-side, where was a Pond of about six Acres. The Enemy possessed themselves of all the Out-houses, but used them only by night, not thinking it safe to come at them by day; which we observing, one Evening conveyed forty Men through a Vault leading to those Houses, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to surprize them when they came; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the first of the Enemy, had not fired his Pistol, and thereby given warning to the rest to shift for themselves. The Man who was the occasion of this Disappointment was deprived of the use of his Arms till he should attempt something for the redeeming of his Reputation; which soon after, upon a Sally we made on the Enemy, he did, in which we took two of the Enemies Horses, and made some Prisoners. How many of them were killed we could not learn: On our side some were wounded, of whom one died soon after.

A Kinsman of mine, who was related to the Lord *Cottington*, was sent from *Oxford* to offer me what Terms I would desire. I permitted him to come in, that seeing our Strength and Provision, he might make his Report to the Enemy

Enemy to our Advantage: For things were ſo ordered by removing our Guards from place to place, filling up our Hogſheads with empty Barrels, and covering them with Beef and Pork, and in like manner ordering our Corn, that every thing appeared double, to what it was, to them. The Subſtance of the Conditions I propoſed was: That if I underſtood from the Earl of *Eſſex* that he could not relieve us within ſix Months, we would then deliver the Caſtle, upon condition, that it ſhould not be made a Gariſon: That the Parliament ſhould have two thouſand Pounds for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with ſome other Particulars, which the Gentleman carried to *Oxford* with him: but we never had any Return from him about them, neither indeed did we expect any. Our Beer was now ſpent, our Corn much diminiſhed, and we had no other Drink but the Water of our Well, which tho we drunk dry by day, yet it was ſufficiently ſupplied every night. But being reſolved to keep the Caſtle as long as we could, we ſhortned our Allowance, ſo that three Pecks and a half of Wheat one day, and a Buſhel of Barley another, ſerved near a hundred Men, which was all our Force, my Troop being ſent away before for want of Conveniency for Horſe: This Allowance was ſo ſhort, that I cauſed one of the Horſes we had taken to be killed, which the Souldiers eat up in two days, beſides their Ordinary.

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The Forces that had been ſent by the Parliament to the Aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in *Ireland*, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into *England* to ſerve againſt thoſe who raiſed them; and the Rebels, by the Pacification made with them by the King's Order, contrary to his Promiſe to the Parliament, left in the full Enjoyment of what they had gotten from the Engliſh by Rapine and Murder; part of thoſe who came out of *Ireland* landed at *Cheſter*, and drew before *Nantwich*: they were commanded by one Capt. *Sandford*, Brother to Sir *William Sandford*, a worthy Perſon of *Grays-Inn*, to whom he had ſolemnly promiſed never to engage againſt the Parliament: Yet did he ſend in a very threatning Summons to the Town, and ſeconded it with a moſt furious Aſſault, whilſt the Works were but ſlenderly defended, the Guard conſiſting for the moſt part of Townſmen, who were then gone to dinner: But it ſo happened, that a Boy of the Age of fifteen firing a Muſquet from the Town, ſhot him dead in the place, which diſcouraged his Souldiers from any farther Attempt.

Col. *George Monk*, who had been ſent by the Parliament into *Ireland* againſt the Rebels, for ſome time ſcrupled to quit that Service, and to engage in this, being upon that account ſecured on Ship-board by the Earl of *Ormond*, whilſt he ſent thoſe Forces into *England*, leſt

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he ſhould have obſtructed their going over; yet having afterwards his liberty to wait on the King, was prevailed with to join with them, and ſoon after taken Priſoner by a Party from *Yorkſhire*, commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who ſent him Priſoner to *Hull*, from whence ſome time after he was conveyed to the Tower of *London*. Another Party of the Forces from *Ireland* landed in the Weſt, and marched as far as *Hinden* towards *Warder*-Caſtle, in order to beſiege it; but being informed that the Perſon whom they were to diſpoſſeſs was a Proteſtant, and he into whoſe hands they were to put it was a Papiſt, they mutinied againſt their Officers, and refuſed to be employed againſt us.

The Queen landed with an Army of French, Walloons, and other Foreigners, and brought with her great ſtore of Ammunition and Money, procured by pawning the Crown-Jewels in *Holland*. With theſe and other Forces the Earl of *Newcaſtle* marched to beſiege *Hull*, of which Place the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax* was Governour, who with the Aſſiſtance of the Seamen belonging to ſome Ships that lay in the Harbour, made ſo fierce a Sally upon the Enemy, that they were forced to quit ſome of their Guns, and withdraw to a greater diſtance, leaving many of their Men behind them, of whom ſome were killed, and others taken Priſoners. Col. *Overton* carried himſelf, as I am well informed, with much Honour and Gallantry in this Action. This bad Succeſs ſo diſpi-

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rited the Enemy, that they abandoned the Siege, and retired to *York*; to which alſo the approach of Winter, and the Preparations of the Scots to march into *England*, did not a little contribute: For the Parliaments of both Kingdoms had at length agreed upon Terms, and removed the laſt and greateſt Difficulty, conſiſting in ſome doubtful Words in the Covenant, which was to be taken by both Nations, concerning *the preſervation of the King's Perſon*, and *reducing the Doctrine and Diſcipline of both Churches to the Pattern of the beſt Reformed*: For which Sir *Henry Vane*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, found out an Expedient, by adding to the firſt Clauſe theſe or the like words, *In preſervation of the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject*; and to the Second, *according to the Word of God.* Which being an Explanation that could not be refuſed, prevented any farther Conteſtation about that Matter.

About this time the Enemy by cruel Uſage put a period to the Life of my Brother Capt. *Robert Ludlow*, who was their Priſoner, as I before related. The News of this, and of the Danger I was in, ſo afflicted my Father, together with his conſtant Labours in the publick Service, and poſſibly his Diſſatisfaction about the Impriſonment of his good Friend Mr. *Henry Martin*, for Words ſpoken in the Houſe, as he conceived, in diſcharge of his Duty, that he died, expreſſing himſelf deeply ſenſible of the Con-

Condition of the bleeding Nation, and heartily praying for the Prosperity of the Publick Cause. The Words spoken by Mr. *Martin* in the Parliament were to this purpose, That it was better one Family should perish, than that the People should be destroyed: And being required to explain himself, he ingenuously confessed that he meant the Family of the King; for which he was committed to the *Tower*, but afterwards released, and re-admitted to his Place in the Parliament. About the same time Mr. *John Pym* also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the Interest of the Nation: His Body was for several days exposed to publick view in *Derby-house* before it was interred, in confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with Lice.

The Enemy before *Warder*-Castle kept their Guards within Pistol-shot of it day and night, so that we could not expect any more Intelligence from abroad; yet one of ours sent by us into the Country a Week before, to inform us of the state of Affairs, met, at an honest Man's House not far from the Castle, a Souldier, whom the Enemy had pressed to serve them; whose Heart being with us, these two agreed, that when Relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white Cap on his Head, and blow his Nose with his Handkerchief. In the mean time the Besiegers raised a Battery, and by a shot from thence cut off the Chain of our Portcullis, which rendring

our Gate unserviceable to us, we made it so to them, by barricading it up on the inside: so that now we had no way out but through a Window, our other Doors being walled up before. But the Battery not answering their expectation, they resolved to try other Experiments, either by digging a Hole in the Castle-wall, and putting a sufficient quantity of Powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the said Wall, and supporting it with Timber, and then setting it on fire: whereby they supposed to destroy that also on which the Wall rested, and so to bring down the Wall. In order to this they prepared Materials to defend them whilst they were about the Work, and brought together about two dozen of Oaken Plants three Inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark Night to set up against the Castle-wall, half of them on one side, and half on the other. Our Sentinels discovered them on one side, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their Boards behind them. On the other side they set them up, and in the Morning were hard at work under their Shelter. We heard a noise of digging, but for some time could not perceive where: at length we discovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot Water and melted Lead, tho to little purpose. At last with Hand-granadoes we obliged them to quit their Work, and to leave their Tools behind them, with their Provisions for three or four days;

and tho we had no way out of the Caſtle but by a narrow Window, yet we brought in their Materials and Proviſions: for that Morning having ſhot the Officer that commanded their Guard in the Head, their Trenches not being finiſhed to ſecure their Approaches to the Out-houſes, under the ſhelter of which they kept their Guard; and being admoniſhed by what befel Capt. *Bowyer*, of the danger of delaying to dreſs a Wound, they deſired leave to carry off their wounded Man, which I granted on condition that they would commit no Act of Hoſtility in the mean time: And when five or ſix of them who carried him off were about Piſtol-ſhot from the Wall, I appeared with forty Muſqueteers ready to fire on the top of the Caſtle, and ordered three or four Men out of the Window mentioned before, who brought in their Materials.

A Relation of mine, one Capt. *Henry Williams*, who commanded a Company in Colonel *Barns* his Regiment, deſiring to be admitted to ſpeak with me, and I conſenting, he endeavoured to perſwade me to a Surrender, offering me any Conditions I would ask; but his Arguments made no Impreſſion upon me.

In the mean time the King, to encourage his Friends in the City to riſe for him, ſent them a Commiſſion to that purpoſe by the Lady *Aubogny*, which ſhe brought made up in the Hair of her Head; but the Deſign being diſcovered, ſhe fled for Refuge to the Houſe of the French

Ambaſſador; who refuſing to deliver her to Sir *Henry Vane* and Mr. *John Liſle*, ſent by the Parliament with a Guard to ſeize her, pretending his Privilege, the Houſe, being informed by Sir *Francis Knowles*, that at the time of the bloody Maſſacre at *Paris*, one of the French King's Secretaries who was of the Reformed Religion flying to the Engliſh Ambaſſador's Houſe for Protection, and diſguizing himſelf amongſt the Grooms, was forced from thence by the King's Command, ordered this Lady to be treated in the like manner, which was done accordingly. Hereupon an Order was paſſed for the Trial of thoſe who were engaged in this Conſpiracy, and Mr. *Thomſon* and Mr. *Challoner* were found guilty, and executed for it. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were alſo condemned to loſe their Heads for endeavouring to betray the Gariſon of *Hull* to the Enemy; which Sentence was put in execution upon the Son the 1*ſt* of *January*, 164$\frac{4}{5}$. and on the Father the day following. Sir *Alexander Carew* was alſo beheaded for endeavouring to betray *Plimouth*, with the Government of which he was entruſted by the Parliament.

About the 16*th* of the ſame *January* the Scots marched into *England*, and having *Berwick* ſecured for them, the firſt thing they attempted was the taking of *Newcaſtle*, which they did by ſtorm: The Lords and Commons for their Encouragement having ſentenced, and cauſed execution to be done upon *William Laud* Archbiſhop

biſhop of *Canterbury*, their Capital Enemy, on the 10*th* of the ſame Month.

Sir *William Waller* being reinforced with ſome City-Regiments, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to take the field: and becauſe the Weſtern Clothiers were often obſtructed in their Paſſage to *London* by the Gariſon of *Baſinghouſe*, which was kept for the King, he attempted to reduce it, but was repulſed with loſs. After which he marched to *Arundel* in *Suſſex*, where he ſoon beat the King's Gariſon out of the Town into the Caſtle, which after ſome time, and the loſs of ſome Men, was ſurrendred to him, with ſeveral Perſons of Quality therein, at Mercy.

About the middle of *January* Sir *William* aſſured us, that if we held out a Fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his Bones under our Walls. We had alſo ſome hopes given us from *Southampton* and *Pool*, the latter of which Places about this time ſome of the Inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the Lord *Crawford*; but the Deſign being diſcovered, as the Enemy was entring the Outworks, and expecting to be admitted into the Town, ſome great Guns loaded with ſmall Shot were fired upon his Men, and made a great Slaughter amongſt them. Between theſe two Gariſons of *Southampton* and *Pool* lay my Troop of Horſe, to do what Service they could againſt the Enemy, and to favour our Relief: where my Cornet, afterwards known by the name of Major *William Ludlow*, was ſhot through the Body, and into

into the Thigh, and his Horſe in two places, by ſome of the Enemy from an Ambuſcade; being brought to *Southampton*, and his Wounds ſearched, the Bullet that went in at his Belly was found at the Chine of his Back, with a piece of the Waſtband of his Breeches, which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered to be in ſome meaſure ſerviceable to the Publick.

To encourage the Forces of *Pool* and *Southampton* to come to our Relief, I ſent them word, that they ſhould have ſeven or eight hundred Pounds to gratify them, which I was able to make good with what I had remaining of the Plate which I had found in one of the Cloſets of the Caſtle, as I mentioned before.

Towards the end of the Winter Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who commanded the King's Forces in the Weſt, being informed that the Battery which had fired againſt us for two Months had done no great execution, and that Col. *Barns* was more employed in plundering the Country than in advancing the King's Service, ſent Sir *Francis Doddington* with a further Supply of Men to reduce us; and with him an Engineer to undermine the Caſtle. To this end they forced the Miners of *Meinſhup* to aſſiſt them. As ſoon as we heard the noiſe of their Digging, we endeavoured to countermine them; but the Caſtle Walls being joined with an entire Wall at the Foundation, the Morter whereof was ſo well tempered, that it was harder than the Stones themſelves, we could by no means break

through it. Our Medicines were now ſpent, and our Chirurgeon, who with eight of his Brothers ſerved at that time in my Troop, ſhot through the Body and diſabled, tho the Bullet glancing miſſed the Vitals. One of his Brothers, with another Souldier, adventured out of the Window in order to procure ſome means for his Recovery, whilſt ſome of ours by Diſcourſes, firing, and much Noiſe, drew the Enemy to the other ſide of the Caſtle; ſo that they ſafely paſſed their Guards, and went to the honeſt Man's Houſe before mentioned, where they met again that Friend of ours, who being preſſed by the Enemy to ſerve them, remained with them to ſerve us; and received from him a Letter directed to us from ſome of our Friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promiſing us Relief within ten days: of whoſe Approach this our Friend undertook to give us notice, by the ſigns before agreed on. Our Meſſengers having furniſhed themſelves with what they went for, returned to us with this good News, this poor honeſt Man having drawn off the Sentinel by whom they were to paſs.

The ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of Relief, our Proviſions waſting, I obſerved a great Silence amongſt the Enemy; and being deſirous to know whether our Friend were upon the Guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occaſion from their Silence to deſire of them, that if they were alive they would

would make ſome Noiſe, tho they might not be permitted to ſpeak: which one of them doing by blowing his Noſe, we were willing to make a further Diſcovery; and having told him he did it in his Sleeve for want of a Handkerchief, he by this time underſtanding our meaning, appeared in ſight, and with his Handkerchief blew his Noſe again, endeavouring by Signs and Words to inform us of our Condition, digging in the Wall of the Stable, and laying the Stones in order; then diſcourſing with two of his Fellows, he challenged them to play at Football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after; ſaying to them aloud, that we might hear, If I beat the firſt, I fear not the ſecond. Tho we ſuppoſed that the firſt Danger he deſigned to admoniſh us of was the Mine; yet for the more clear diſcovery thereof, we laid a train of Powder upon the Caſtle-wall, which he by ſigns ſignified to us to be what he intended. But we were miſtaken in the Interpretation of his ſecond Action, by which we concluded he deſigned to repreſent to us a ſpeedy Relief, if we could hold out againſt the firſt; tho it was indeed another Mine prepared to ſpring immediately after the firſt, as we afterwards found, tho we never had the happineſs to ſee or ſpeak with the poor Man more. I received a Letter from Sir *Francis Doddington*, who commanded in Chief before us, wherein taking notice of the Relation between our Families, he expreſſed himſelf ready

to do me any friendly Office, and adviſed me to a timely Delivery of the Caſtle, leſt by refuſing ſo to do I ſhould bring my Blood upon my own head. In my Anſwer I acknowledged his Civility, aſſuring him, that being entruſted with the Cuſtody of it by the Authority of the Parliament for the Service of the Country, I could cheerfully lay down my Life in diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in me; for that it would not be only in my Defence, but in Defence of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in aſſaulting us, leſt he ſhould thereby contract the Guilt of more innocent Blood. His Letter with my Anſwer he ſent to *Oxford*, as appeared by the weekly News-paper of *London*, wherein they were printed from that of *Oxford*, which *Aulicus* publiſhed to ſhew my *Opiniatreté*, and *Britannicus* my Fidelity to the Publick Cauſe.

The two Nights following we all continued upon the Guard; and upon the Thurſday Morning, being very weary, I lay down and ſlept till between ten or eleven of the Clock, at which time one of my great Guns firing upon the Enemy, ſhook the Match which they had left burning for the ſpringing of the Mine into the Powder, ſo that the Mine ſpringing I was lifted up with it from the Floor, with much Duſt ſuddenly about me; which was no ſooner laid, but I found both the Doors of my Chamber blown open, and my Window towards

wards the Enemy blown down, ſo that a Cart might have entred at the Breach. The Party which they had prepared to ſtorm us lay at ſome diſtance, to ſecure themſelves from any hurt by the ſpringing of the Mine: but that being done, they made haſte to ſtorm, which they might eaſily do at my Window, the Rubbiſh of the Caſtle having made them a way almoſt to it. Thoſe who ſtormed on my ſide were the Iriſh yellow Coats, commanded by Capt. *Leiceſter*. My Piſtols being Wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire, ſo that I was forced to truſt to my Sword for the keeping down of the Enemy, being alone in the Chamber, and all Relief excluded from me, except ſuch as came in by one of my Windows that looked into the Court of the Caſtle, through which I called to my Men there, acquainting them with my condition, and requiring them to haſten to my Relief. Mr. *Gabriel Ludlow* my Kinſman not only came himſelf, but ordered others to my Aſſiſtance, and to that end placed a Ladder under the Window before-mentioned, which being too ſhort by near two Yards, I was obliged to leave the Breach where the Enemy was ready to enter, five or ſix times, to take his Arms and himſelf in; which being done, he helped in five or ſix more, whom I ordered to fill up the Breach and the Doors with the Bed, Chairs, Table, and ſuch things as were next at hand. This place being in ſome meaſure ſecured, I went to ſee what

other

other Breaches had been made, and to provide for their Defence, and found one in the Room under me well defended, but that in the Ground-room on the other ſide not at all; there I placed a Guard, and ran to the upper Rooms, which had many Doors and Windows blown open, at every one of which I appointed a Guard in ſome meaſure proportionable to the Danger. From thence I went to the top of the Caſtle, which was leaded, and of a ſex-angular Figure, with a Turret upon each Angle. Two of theſe were blown down, with part of the Leads, behind which the Enemy ſheltered themſelves, ſo that we could not remove them by our ſhot; but by throwing down ſome great Stones, with which the Mine had plentifully furniſhed us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded ſome others. Capt. *Leiceſter* was one of thoſe who ſheltered themſelves behind this Rubbiſh, and deſired leave to carry off the wounded Men that were with him; which I readily granted, letting them know, that we fought not their Blood, but our own Defence. Soon after we alſo had occaſion to make trial of their Humanity; for one of our Souldiers being buried in the outward Rubbiſh of the Caſtle, and yet alive, ſent to acquaint me with his Condition, and to deſire my Help: Upon which I deſired of the Enemy that they would dig him out, and make him Priſoner; or ſuffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them: but they would conſent to neither; and when

I told them that I had not uſed them ſo, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded Men, they replied, That tho it was my Favour to ſuffer that, yet their chief Officer would not permit this. The poor Man lived in this condition near three days, and then through moſt barbarous Uſage, being denied any Relief, he died. We loſt three of our Men by the ſpringing of the Mine, but the reſt were moſt wonderfully preſerved. Our Proviſion of Corn, which at the rate we liv'd would have laſted three Weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our Ammunition; but our Proviſion of Fleſh being for about four days, was preſerved. Whilſt this laſted, I thought it adviſable, having repulſed the Enemy, to put the beſt countenance we could upon our Affairs, hoping by ſo doing we might bring the Enemy to give us the better Conditions. But Mr. *Balſum* our Miniſter, with two or three more religious Men, who till that time had carried themſelves without diſcovering any Fear, preſſed me very earneſtly to propoſe a Treaty to the Enemy. I told them that it was a very unſeaſonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the Enemy, and three or four days Proviſions left: That I did not doubt before that was ſpent, by a good Improvement of our time, to bring the Enemy to reaſonable terms: Whereas if we ſhould now deſire a Treaty with them, they would conclude our Spirits low, our Condition deſperate,

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and ſo hold us to harder terms, or it may be give us none at all. They replied, that if I refuſed to hearken to their Propoſal, they judged that all the Blood that ſhould be ſpilt in further Oppoſition would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy Charge laid on me by Men of Age and Experience, of whoſe Integrity I had a very good Opinion, I durſt not reſiſt any longer, by balancing my Youth and little Experience againſt their Years and Judgment, and therefore left it to them to do what they ſhould think fit; but they aſſuring me they would rather loſe their Lives than do any thing without me, I promiſed that if they would call to the Enemy for a Parley, I would anſwer. Whereupon they moved it to the Enemy, who took time to acquaint their Commander in Chief with it. His Anſwer was; That ſince we had refuſed to treat with him whilſt the Caſtle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the Beſiegers know, that the Return was no other than I expected: That the Motion did not ariſe from me, but was conſented to by me for the ſatisfaction of ſome about me, who were now reſolved to expoſe themſelves with me to the utmoſt Hazards in defence of the Place, without demanding any Terms again; not doubting, if we were neceſſitated to lay down our Lives in this Service, to ſell them at a good rate. My Friends having found their Advice to produce no other effect than I had

foretold,

foretold, reſolved for the future to be wholly diſpoſed of by me; ſo that both Officers and Souldiers began to prepare againſt the utmoſt Extremity. None of ours had been killed by the Shot during the Storm, but ſome ſlightly wounded, and their Clothes ſhot through, a Bullet from the Enemy having pierced my Hat cloſe by my Head. The Beſiegers had ten killed by Shot and Stones in the Storm, and divers wounded: Amongſt the former was one *Hillſdeane*, who a little before he expired ſaid, he ſaw his Brother fire that Muſquet by which he received his mortal Wound; which might probably be, his Brother being one of thoſe who defended that Breach where he, attempting to enter, was ſhot: but if it were ſo, he might juſtly do it by the Laws of God and Man, it being done in the diſcharge of his Duty, and in his own Defence. The Silver Plate belonging to the Houſe, found ſoon after we were cloſe beſieged, I buried in the Cellar, with the help of one of my Servants. On Saturday the Enemy began to converſe friendly with us, and a Ceſſation of Acts of Hoſtility being agreed upon, a Son of Col. *Barnes*, Capt. *Farmer*, Mr. *Plott*, the Gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the Lord *Cottington*, and to have endeavoured to perſwade me to ſurrender the Caſtle before the Siege, with ſeveral other Officers, came up cloſe to the Breaches, where we conferred together: and they earneſtly preſſing me to ſurrender,

render, I told them I would not be averſe to it upon fitting Terms; for had not thoſe who owned the Caſtle made uſe of it to the prejudice of the Country, I preſumed it had not been taken from them, and poſſeſſed by us, in order to prevent the like Inconveniences for the future; againſt which conceiving ſufficient proviſion made by the ſpringing of the late Mine, I was willing to quit the ſame, if we might have liberty to march to the next Gariſon belonging to the Parliament, with our Arms, and what elſe we had in the Caſtle. They replied, They could not anſwer to his Majeſty the giving of ſuch Conditions to us, Sir *William Waller* having lately refuſed to receive *Arundel*-Caſtle from ſome of the King's Party upon any other Terms than at Mercy, who they knew to have been in a much better ſtate of Defence than we were; and therefore preſſed us to deliver our ſelves upon the ſame Condition, promiſing us much Favour. To this I anſwered, That ſome related to us had already experienced the Favours they extended to their Priſoners: That the Compliance of thoſe at *Arundel* ought to be no Precedent to us; and that unleſs we might march off, we would not ſurrender. They told me, the longer I held out the worſe it would be for me; and Mr. *Plott*, who, as he ſince informed me, had prevailed with them to propoſe this Treaty, earneſtly preſſed me to lay hold on the Opportunity, intimating by his Words and Geſtures, that if I refuſed it, I

ſhould

ſhould not have another : but I reſolving to defend the Place as long as I could, our Treaty came to nothing. I had ſome thoughts of charging through the Enemy in the beginning of the Night, in order to force our way to the neareſt of our Gariſons, which I preſumed might have been effected by the Morning; but the deſperate Condition in which we muſt have left our ſick and wounded Men, diverted me from putting that Deſign in execution. And now the Spirits of my Souldiers began to flag ; my Gunſmith deſiring leave to go home, and ſeveral others making choice of one amongſt them to ſpeak for them, were very importunate with me to ſurrender ; with which expreſſing my ſelf diſpleaſed, I acquainted them that I would take the beſt time to do it for their Advantage, and thereby quieted them, ſo that they reſolved to move me no more about it ; yet ceaſing not to complain to each other of their Wants and Hardſhips, the Enemy became acquainted therewith, as they afterwards told me. On the Lord's-day in the Afternoon the Beſiegers diſcourſed with ſome of our Men who were upon the Leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the Breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by ſtorm ; which I perceiving, made uſe of it to animate our Men afreſh, and ſucceeded ſo well therein, that the Enemy by our Cheerfulneſs began to ſuſpect that we had ſome notice of Relief approaching.

proaching. This Suſpicion cauſed them to continue diſcourſing with my Souldiers moſt part of the Night, to get the Truth out of them, promiſing them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. *Balſum* our Miniſter, or my ſelf to them. The next Morning many of them came up to one of the Breaches, to perſwade us to ſurrender; which Opportunity being willing to improve, having ten Doors blown open by the firſt Mine, our Walls that ſtood being cracked in ſeveral places, and another Mine ready to ſpring, that would probably level the moſt part of the Caſtle with the Ground, not having Proviſion ſufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of Relief, I propounded to them to yield my ſelf their Priſoner, if they would conſent that thoſe with me might march off. To which they anſwering, That tho my good Nature led me to make that Offer, yet they could not accept of it: I told them, that unleſs I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the Caſtle. 1*ſt*. Quarter without diſtinction for the Lives of every one. 2*dly*. Civil Uſage for all my Party. 3*dly*. Not to be carried to *Oxford*. 4*thly*. A ſpeedy Exchange. They promiſed me I ſhould have all theſe made good to the full; and Col. *Barns* ſaid, that if I pleaſed to come out to them, I ſhould find more Friends than I expected: whereupon requiring my Men to be upon their Guard, and not to ſuffer any to come near them till my Return, I went out to them, and they brought

brought me to the Lord *Arundel* and Sir *Francis Doddington*, who were without the Garden-wall, where my Lord *Arundel* assured me, that what was agreed should be made good to me; and was pleased further to add, that tho he preferred my Conversion before the Enjoyment of his own Children, yet if I thought fit to persist in the way I had begun, he would do his utmost to endeavour that I might be exchanged for his two Sons, who were then Prisoners with Sir *William Waller*. To this I answered, that if I were convinced that the Cause I had engaged in was not good, I should soon recede from it; but till then I could not but persist in the prosecution thereof. Sir *Francis Doddington* told me, he was glad to see me alive, but sorry to find so much Resolution employed in so bad a Cause. I let him know, that my Apprehensions concerning the Cause were very different from his, else I had not hazarded my self as I had done. He also promised the performance of the Articles to the utmost of his Power; and for my self, that whilst I was in his Custody I should have no other Prison but his own Lodgings. Thus all things being agreed upon, I returned to the Castle, and ordered my Souldiers to lay down their Arms; which being done, the Enemy directed them to draw together into a certain Room in the Castle, where they set a Guard upon them; but gave me the liberty of the Place upon my Parole, offering me one or two of my own Company

to associate with me: whereupon I desired that my Cousin *Gabriel Ludlow*, Mr. *Balsum*, and a Servant, might be permitted to come to me, which was granted. Their Civility to me was such, especially that of the Lord *Arundel*, that I discovered to him the Plate and other things that I had hid in the Castle: but I cannot say that they performed their Articles with me in relation to my Men; for the second day after their entrance, they threatned to take away the Lives of two of them, who having been formerly pressed by them, and their Consciences not giving them leave to serve them, chose rather to come to us, and be besieged with us, than to have liberty to range and oppress the Country with them. The poor Men made their Condition known to me; and I went to the chief Officers of the Enemy, and charged them with it as a breach of that Article by which we were to have all our Lives secured to us, in virtue of these words, *Quarter without distinction.* Capt. *Leicester*, to whom I principally applied my self, because he pretended to most Experience in things of this nature, told me, that I only conditioned for my Souldiers, and that these who ran from them were not mine, but theirs: I replied, that they were never theirs, tho they had forced them to be with them, having pressed them into their Service, which they had no Power to do; but tho it should be granted that they had been theirs, yet they were now ours, and the words of the

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Article were, *Quarter without distinction.* He answered, that if I had intended to have these included, I should have particularly named them. I told him, that it was needless, every *Particular* being included in the *Universal*; and that if I had suspected such Usage, I would have died before I would have delivered the Castle to them. He said, that if I disliked the Conditions, they would withdraw, and leave me as they found me. I replied, that seeing they were now acquainted with my Necessities, that Proposition was as unworthy and disingenuous as their Interpretation of the *Articles*; and that if they proceeded to Extremities against the two Souldiers, because the Power was at present in their hands, I did not doubt that God would give me an opportunity to resent it; and if not, I was fully assured that He would do it himself. In the Afternoon I was desired to go to Sir *Francis Doddington*'s Quarters, which were at a Gentleman's House about half a Mile from the Castle; to which place I was accompanied by one Lieutenant *Elsing*, Brother to the Clerk of the Parliament of that name, with whom I had a free Debate concerning the Justice of our Cause, and the Evil of their Undertaking, especially of those amongst them, who, having been sent by the Parliament against the Rebels in *Ireland*, had returned and drawn their Swords against those that had raised them; which was his case. He was so convinced of the truth of what I said, that

he took the first opportunity he could find to return to us; and to that end went to the Garison of *Glocester*, where he was employed, and behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment of Foot; in which Capacity he went afterwards into *Ireland*, where he lost his Life against the Rebels. Having received notice that a Council of War was sitting upon the two Souldiers before-mentioned, and also that they endeavoured to find some Pretext to take away the Life of Mr. *Balsum* our Minister, I sent to admonish them to be careful to preserve themselves from the Guilt of innocent Blood; putting them in mind, that if they proceeded to such a breach of their Faith, they must expect to account for it at another time. Upon this Message one Capt. *Bishop* observing them to persist in their bloody Intentions, withdrew from the Council, and soon after from the Party. But Sir *Francis Doddington* and Capt. *Leicester* so ordered the matter at the Council, that the two Souldiers were condemned, and most perfidiously executed. They also discovered all imaginable Malice against Mr. *Balsum*, but finding no colour to proceed against him in this publick way, they fell upon a more secret and baser Method to take away his Life; to that end sending three Men, who broke in upon him whilst he was at Prayer; but he rising up, and looking steddily upon them, observing them to stand still, demanded of them the cause of

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their coming, who ſtanding ſome time with Horror and Confuſion in their Faces, after ſome Conference with each other, confeſſed to him, that they were ſent to deſtroy him, but that they found a Superiour Power reſtraining them, and convincing them of the Wickedneſs of their Intentions, offering to convey him out of the hands of his Enemies, or to do any thing elſe for him that he ſhould deſire. He thanked them for their Kindneſs, and being unwilling they ſhould hazard themſelves for his ſake, deſired only ſome few Neceſſaries, the Weather being cold, and he in great want, which they readily furniſhed him with. Soon after he was carried away to *Salisbury*, and the reſt of the Officers and Souldiers of our Gariſon ſent to *Oxford*, contrary to the expreſs Words of the third Article of our Capitulation, the Enemy pretending to a poſitive Order of the King for ſo doing. Sir *Francis Doddington* having diſpatched ſome Affairs in the Country, took me with him to *Wincheſter*, and in our way thither ſhewed me a Letter from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, deſiring him to uſe all means poſſible to draw me to their Party, which he endeavoured by making uſe of the beſt Arguments he could, to prove the Juſtice of their Cauſe, the Probability of their Succeſs, and the Inconſiderableneſs of our Strength in all Parts, accompanying them with all the Incouragements imaginable. The firſt Night of our Journey we lay at one Mr. *Awbery*'s of *Chalk*, where we met with Dr. *Earl* and young

Mr. *Gataker*, whom he desired to assist him in his design to convert me. Mr. *Gataker* rather chid than argued with me: Dr. *Earl* accused the Parliament of endeavouring the Destruction of Learning, which I desiring him to make appear, he told me, that by abolishing Episcopacy we took away all Encouragement to it; for that Men would not send their Sons to the University, had they not some hopes that they might attain to that Preferment. To this I replied, that it would be much more honest for such Men to train up their Children at the Plow, whereby they might be certainly provided with a Livelihood, than to spend their Time and Money to advance them to an Office, pretended to be spiritual, and instituted for spiritual Ends, upon such a sordid Principle and Consideration. Sir *Francis*, as I conceived, ashamed of the Doctor's Discourse, put an end to the Conversation. The next day we went to *Salisbury*, where, tho multitudes of People were in the Streets, and in the Inn where I was lodged, no Person offered me the least Incivility, tho I took the liberty in my Chamber to maintain the Justice of our Cause in the Presence of forty or fifty of the Town. Mr. *John Penruddock*, High Sheriff of the County, having confined Mr. *Balsum* to the County-Goal, and sent to him to prepare himself to die, assuring him that he was to be executed in a short time, came to me, and with many other Expressions of Kindness, desired me, that in case of any

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Extremity I would ſend to him, aſſuring me, that he wiſhed me as well as his own Children, and promiſing that he would ride Night and Day to ſerve me. This poor Gentleman was ſo unhappy, during his Shrievalty, to have two of his Nephews, preſuming upon their Uncle's Intereſt, and preſſing through his Guards, killed by them, he having given Order that none ſhould be permitted to paſs without a ſtrict Examination. In our way to *Wincheſter* one Mr. *Fiſher*, an Acquaintance of mine, then an Officer of the King's, ſaluted me, and enquiring how I did, I anſwered him, As well as one could be in my condition; he thereupon replying, Why, I hope they uſe you civilly, do they not? Yes, ſaid I, very civilly. Sir *Francis Doddington* over-hearing him, took it ſo ill, that he cauſed him to be immediately diſarmed, telling him, that he was too bold, to call in queſtion the Uſage of his Priſoner. Being arrived at *Wincheſter*, I ſtaid at an Inn till a private Lodging was provided for Sir *Francis*, at whoſe Quarters, according to his Promiſe, I lodged, whilſt in his Cuſtody. Moſt of the Officers about the Town came to me at the Inn, ſeveral of them preſſing me to diſcourſe, and particularly concerning the Juſtice of our Cauſe: I excuſed my ſelf, by reaſon of my preſent Circumſtances; but they ſtill perſiſting, I thought my ſelf obliged to maintain the neceſſity of our taking up Arms in defence of our Religion and Liberties; but ſome of them being

wholly biaſſed to their Intereſt, as they went from me, met a Relation of mine, one Col. *Richard Manning*, who, tho a Papiſt, commanded a Regiment of Horſe in the King's Service, and told him, that they came from one of the boldeſt Rebels that they had ever ſeen. The Colonel coming to viſit me, informed me of this Diſcourſe, adviſing me, whatſoever I thought, not to be ſo free with them, leſt they ſhould do me ſome Miſchief. The next Morning, before our Departure for *Oxford*, Sir *Francis Doddington* brought me to Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Lodgings, which being the Head-quarters, we found there moſt of the Principal Officers of that Army; where the General, after he had ſaluted me, demanded how I, being a Gentleman, could ſatisfy my ſelf to bear Arms againſt my King: I told him, that, as I conceived, the Laws both of God and Man did juſtify me in what I had done. Well, ſaid he, I underſtand you are ſo fixed in your Principles, that I am like to do little good upon you by my Perſwaſions; but ſhall deſire the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* to take the pains to ſpeak with you, when you come to *Oxford*; and if he cannot work on you, I know not who can. This Biſhop was very learned, and of great Reputation for Piety; yet I was aſſured by one who had his Information from Mr. *Bernard* of *Batcomb*, that when the ſaid Mr. *Bernard* earneſtly preſſed him to deal faithfully with the King in the Controverſy which was between him and the Parliament con-

concerning Epiſcopacy, according to his own Judgment in that matter, which he knew to be againſt it, repreſenting to him the great and important Service he would thereby do to the Church of God, the Archbiſhop anſwered, that if he ſhould do as Mr. *Bernard* propoſed, he ſhould ruin himſelf and Family, having a Child and many Debts. For this reaſon thoſe Arguments which could not prevail with me, when uſed by others, were not likely to be of more Efficacy from him, who in a buſineſs of ſuch Concernment had been diverted from the diſcharge of his Duty by ſuch low and ſordid Conſiderations.

The next day I came to *Oxford*, conducted by a Party of Horſe commanded by one who was Captain Lieutenant to Sir *Francis Doddington*, where repoſing a while at a Houſe near *Chriſt-Church*, till the Pleaſure of the King might be known concerning me, there came to me two Perſons very zealous to juſtify the King's Cauſe, and to condemn that of the Parliament. Theſe Men were Iriſh Papiſts, ſent over by the Rebels in *Ireland* to treat with the King on their part, about aſſiſting him againſt the Parliament. This I afterwards underſtood from one of them, whoſe Name was *Callaghan O Callaghan*, when, together with the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Muſquerry*, he laid down his Arms to me in *Ireland*. The King looking upon ſuch Men as moſt fit to be confided in, gives the Preſidentſhip of *Munſter*, vacant

vacant by the Death of Sir *William St. Leger*, to the Lord *Muſquerry*, an Iriſh Rebel; which the Lord *Inchequin*, Son-in-law to Sir *William*, ſoliciting for, and claiming a Right to it, took ſo ill, that the Lord *Broghill*, as he ſince informed me, found no great difficulty to prevail with him to declare for the Parliament, who thereupon made him their Preſident of *Munſter*. In this Capacity he performed many conſiderable Services againſt the Iriſh, taking great ſtore of Plunder from them, and not ſparing even his own Kindred, but if he found them faulty, hanging them up without diſtinction. Having brought together an Army, he marched into the County of *Tipperary*, and hearing that many Prieſts and Gentry about *Caſhell* had retired with their Goods into the Church, he ſtormed it, and being entred, put three thouſand of them to the Sword, taking the Prieſts even from under the Altar: Of ſuch Force is Ambition when it ſeizes upon the Minds of Men.

About this time Sir *Edward Deering* came from the King's Quarters at *Oxford*, and ſurrendred himſelf at *Weſtminſter*; where being examined in the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid, that ſince the Ceſſation made with the Rebels in *Ireland*, ſeeing ſo many Papiſts and Iriſh in the King's Army, and his Councils wholly governed by them, his Conſcience would not permit him to remain longer with the King, and therefore he was come to throw himſelf upon the

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Mercy of the Parliament, and in conformity to their Declaration, to compound for his Delinquency. Accordingly he was admitted to Compoſition, and an Order made to proceed in like manner towards ſuch as ſhould come in after him. Whereupon the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and divers others, came in to the Parliament, and deſired the Benefit of their Declaration for Compoſition.

Whilſt I was attending the King's Pleaſure at *Oxford*, the Captain that conveyed me thither brought me word, that he was ordered to deliver me to Mr. *Thorpe* the Keeper of the Caſtle; and pretending much Affection to me, told me, that the ſaid Keeper would take from me my upper Garment, my Money, and all that was looſe about me, adviſing me therefore to leave ſuch things with him, and promiſing to bring them to me in the Morning: I not ſuſpecting his Deſign, delivered him my Cloke, with my Money, and ſome other things, all which he carried away with him the next day; neither could I have any Redreſs, tho I wrote to Sir *Francis Doddington*, complaining of this Treachery, the Keeper of the Caſtle not laying the leaſt Claim to any ſuch thing. Our ſick and wounded Men, after they had been kept for ſome time Priſoners in the Hall of *Warder*-Caſtle, where a Popiſh Prieſt very ſolemnly, with his Hands ſpread over them, curſed them three times, were carried from thence to *Briſtol*. In the Caſtle at *Oxford* I met with Mr. *Balſum*, and

and other Friends, who had been with me in *Warder*-Caſtle, with many more who were detained there for their Affection to the Parliament, amongſt whom were Col. *Shilborn* of *Buckinghamſhire*, Col. *Henly* of *Dorſetſhire*, Capt. *Haley* of *Gloceſterſhire*, and Capt. *Abercromy* a Scots-man. I had a Friend in the Town who furniſhed me with what I wanted: thoſe who had not any ſuch means of Relief, were ſupplied from *London* by a Collection of the Sum of three hundred Pounds, made for them by ſome Citizens, and conveyed down to them. Neither was *Oxford* it ſelf deſtitute of ſome who contributed to their Relief; one Dr. *Hobbs* in particular, who preached then at *Carfax*, an honeſt Man of the Epiſcopal Party, uſually putting them in mind of it after his Sermon. The Priſoners taken by the King's Party had been treated very cruelly, eſpecially at *Oxford*, by *Smith* the Marſhal there; but the Members of Parliament that deſerted their Truſt at *Weſtminſter* coming thither, and ſitting in Council there, having not quite loſt the Affections of Engliſh-men, took the examination of that Affair into their hands, and ſuſpended *Smith* from the execution of his Office, till he ſhould give Satisfaction concerning thoſe things of which he was accuſed. They committed the Management of the Place to one *Thorp*, and ſent ſome of their own Number to enquire concerning our Uſage. In the mean time *Smith* came to me by Order, and offered me the liberty of the Town,

Town, and to lodg where I pleaſed therein, upon my Parole to be a true Priſoner: but demanding of him, whether, in caſe I accepted his Offer, I might have the liberty to viſit my Friends in the Caſtle when I thought fit; and he anſwering, that it would not be allowed, I choſe rather to be confined with my Friends than at liberty with my Enemies. The Lord *Arundel* endeavouring to make good his Promiſe of procuring my Exchange for his two Sons, earneſtly ſolicited the King to it; but tho he had been a great Sufferer for his Service, the King poſitively refuſed to grant his Requeſt, telling him, he had no uſe of Children. The Lady *Byron* came to me, and deſired me to procure her Husband, who was Priſoner in the Tower, to be exchanged for me, and carried a Letter from me to my Mother then at *London*, about it; who ſoliciting the Earl of *Eſſex* our General to that effect, was deſired by him not to trouble her ſelf any more therein, aſſuring her that he would be as careful of me, as if I were his own Son. A Perſon from Sir *Edward Stradling* came alſo to me, in order to an Exchange between us, telling me, that the King had promiſed that nothing of that nature ſhould be done before Sir *Edward Stradling* and Col. *Lunsford* were exchanged. The Lord *Willmot* ſent a Gentleman to acquaint me that he had procured a Grant from the King, that I ſhould be exchanged for Sir *Hugh Pollard*; and that if I would write a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex* with

with the Propoſal, he would ſend it by a Trumpeter; but I judging this Exchange to be very unequal, Sir *Hugh* being a Perſon much eſteemed for his Intereſt and Experience, propoſed in my Letter to the Lord General, that he would put ſome other Perſon with me into the Balance againſt him. Whilſt I was in expectation of the General's Anſwer, we received Advice that moſt of our Foot that lay before *Newark*, commanded by Sir *John Meldrum*, a worthy Scotſman, were defeated and made Priſoners by Prince *Rupert*: But this Loſs was in ſome meaſure recompenſed by a Victory obtained at *Cherington* in *Hampſhire*, by our Forces, commanded by Sir *William Waller*, againſt thoſe of the King commanded by Sir *Ralph Hopton*. The Numbers on each ſide were very near equal, and the Succeſs had been doubtful for the moſt part of the day, but at laſt the Enemy was totally routed, and put to flight: And had good uſe been made of this Victory, the Controverſy had ſoon been decided in the Weſt; but we were not yet ſo happy to improve our Advantages: by which Negligence we got little more than the Field, and the Reputation of the Victory, tho the Enemy loſt ſome of their principal Officers in the Fight, amongſt whom were the Lord *John*, Brother to the Duke of *Lennox*, Sir *Edward Stawell*, Col. *Richard Manning*, formerly mentioned, and that *Smith* who had been knighted by the King for reſcuing his Standard out of the hands of Mr. *Chambers*, Secre-

Secretary to the Earl of *Eſſex*. This Fight at *Cherington* happened on the *29th* of *March*, 1644. about a Fortnight after the Surrender of *Warder*-Caſtle, till which time had I been able to keep it, I ſhould have been relieved. The Enemies Officers came to the Caſtle at *Oxford* to ſolicit the Priſoners to take Arms under them; but finding their Endeavours to prove ineffectual, they ſoon deſiſted from that Attempt. After three Weeks Confinement here, my Exchange was agreed, the Lord General *Eſſex* expreſſing much Generoſity and Readineſs in it, as he had promiſed to my Mother: for leſt the King ſhould be reminded of his Promiſe to Sir *Edward Stradling* and Col. *Lunsford*, or of that to my Lord *Willmot* in favour of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and ſo on either hand the deſign of my Liberty come to be obſtructed, he conſented to the Exchange of all the three for Col. *Houghton*, Sir *John Savil*, Capt. *Abercromy*, and my ſelf. Col. *Henley* went off alſo with us, being exchanged for Lieutenant Colonel *Robert Sandys*. I was led blindfold through the City of *Oxford* till I had paſſed their Works, and the next day arrived at *London*, where I found the Earl of *Eſſex* diſpoſed to an Exchange for my Officers and Souldiers, which was ſoon after made, and with them for Mr. *Balſum*, whom he entertained as his Chaplain to the time of his Death. He expreſſed a great Deſire to provide me with a Command in his Army: but the Parliament, upon the Inſtances of the Gentlemen that

that ſerved for the County of *Wilts*, having appointed me Sheriff thereof, upon an Invitation of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* to be Major of his Regiment of Horſe in Sir *William Waller*'s Army, which was deſigned for the Service of the Weſt, I accepted of it, and mounted the choiceſt of my old Souldiers with me, Sir *Arthur* buying a hundred Horſe in *Smithfield* for that purpoſe: the reſt of my Men the Lord General took into his own Company. As ſoon as my Troop was compleated, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, I repaired to the Regiment then with Sir *William Waller* near *Abingdon*, who was directed by the Parliament with his Army to block up the King at *Oxford* on one ſide, whilſt the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould do the ſame on the other. Which Storm the Queen foreſeeing, withdrew to *Exeter*, where ſhe was delivered of a Daughter, which ſhe leaving in the Cuſtody of the Lady *Dalkeith*, returned to *France*, as well to ſecure her ſelf, as to ſolicit for Supplies. In the mean time the King breaking out from *Oxford*, marched towards *Worceſterſhire*; upon which the Earl of *Eſſex* commanded Sir *William Waller* to march after him, whilſt he himſelf with his Army marched weſtward. This Order ſeemed very ſtrange to the Parliament, and to moſt of us, being likely to break Sir *William Waller*'s Army, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Weſtern Gentlemen, who hop'd thereby to have been enabled to ſecure the Country, and to promote the Publick Service.

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The Parliament ſent to the Lord General to obſerve his former Orders, and to attend the King's Motions; but he ſending them a ſhort Anſwer, continued his March Weſt, in which he took *Weymouth*, and relieved *Lyme*, that had endured a long Siege, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Seamen, tho their Works were inconſiderable, had often repulſed the Enemy, and killed great numbers of them in ſeveral Sallies that they made upon them. A Party commanded by Sir *Robert Pye* was ordered to *Taunton*, which he reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament. Upon the Advance of the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Army of the Enemy commanded by Prince *Maurice* retreated farther Weſtward. Sir *William Waller*, according to his Orders from the General, followed the King, but could not find an opportunity to engage him; ſo that the Summer being almoſt ſpent, and the Weſtern Gentlemen obſerving little done for the Security of thoſe Parts to which they were related, prevailed with him to permit Col. *Alexander Popham*, Col. *Edward Popham* his Brother, my ſelf, and ſome others, to return into the Weſt, in order to provide Recruits for his Army, and to ſecure the Country. To this end I received a Commiſſion from him to raiſe and command a Regiment of Horſe, with a Permiſſion to take my own Troop with me. As ſoon as we came into *Wiltſhire* we were earneſtly ſolicited to go to the Relief of Major *Wauſey*, who was beſieged by the Enemy in *Woodhouſe*, formerly

purchaſed of my Father by Mr. *Arundel*, Brother to the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*. Upon our Approach we underſtanding that their Forces were drawn off, ſtaid a day or two at the *Devizes*; where notice being brought to us of the Enemies Return before that Place, we immediately advanced, and came that Night to *Warmiſter*, from whence we ſent a Party of about forty Horſe, with order to bring us certain Intelligence of the Enemies Condition: This Party meeting upon *Warmiſter-heath* with about the like Number of theirs, fought them, and having taken ſome Priſoners, returned to us, with an account, that the Enemy only drew off from *Woodhouſe* to reinforce themſelves for the better carrying on of their Work; in order to which Sir *Ralph Hopton* with a thouſand Horſe was come from *Briſtol*. The next Morning a Party of the Enemies Horſe faced us on the Heath, thereby to provoke us to charge them, and then by retreating from us, to have drawn us within their Body of Horſe, who were marching on our left amongſt the Hedges, endeavouring to get into our Rear; which we ſuſpecting, forbore making any Attempt upon them; and about noon finding that we were not in a condition of performing what we came about, marched off towards *Salisbury*. We were no ſooner got upon the Downs, but we diſcovered their Body of Horſe marching into the Town; yet we continued our March, obſerving the Enemy as well as we could, to

which

which end I kept in the Rear; and discovering them climbing the Hills not far from us, I informed Col. *Alexander Popham* thereof, telling him, that they appearing to be at least four times our Number, I thought it not at all advisable to engage them. But he saying, that since they were so near, we could not in Honour avoid it, I promised him that I would not desert him. Whereupon he drew up his Party into one Body, which with reformed Officers and others consisted of near a hundred; and I drew up my Troop, consisting of the like Number, into another Body: but having before sent away my Sumpter and led Horses, upon suspicion of the Event, I was obliged to ride after them to take my Sute of Arms which was with them, having ordered my Men not to stir from their Ground till I came back, in which they were very punctual. As I was returning, I met Col. *Popham* and all his Party flying, of whom demanding the Cause of this Alteration of his Resolution, he answered, that it was by no means advisable to fight them. I found my Men standing their Ground, and the Enemy advancing towards them in twelve Bodies, each of which seemed to be as big as ours. I thanked them for obeying my Orders, and told them, that if they continued to do so, I doubted not by the Blessing of God to bring them off. In order to which I sent my Standard before with half a score chosen Horse, and then began to march off with the rest; but finding some of

my Men beginning to ride for it, I put my ſelf at the head of them, to let them ſee, that I could ride as faſt as they; withal telling them, that if they would ſtand by me, I would bring up the Rear. By this means I got my Men to keep cloſe together, which contributed much to their Safety. The greateſt part of the other Company followed Col. *Edward Popham* to *Salisbury*; but his Brother Col. *Alexander*, with about ſix Horſe, ſtruck out of the way, and retired to *Pool*. After we had made about three Miles of our way, one of my Troopers fell from his Horſe, and the Beaſt running from him, he was in great danger of being deſtroyed by the Enemy, who was in purſuit of us; which being willing to prevent, I took him up behind me, and his Horſe running along with the Company, was taken ſoon after on the top of the Hill very ſeaſonably; for my Horſe was by that time ſo far ſpent with the extraordinary Weight, that he could not gallop any longer; but the Souldier mounting his own Horſe, mine ſoon recovered his Wind and Strength again. Twice or thrice the Enemy came up to us, demanding the Word, and were as often repulſed to their Body: the laſt time we ſhot one of their Officers, which made them more cautious of approaching us. Many of our Horſes being ſpent, I commanded the Souldiers to quit them, and to run them through, that they might not fall into the hands of the Enemy, adviſing the Men to ſhift for themſelves,

either amongſt the Corn, or in the Villages through which we paſſed, whereby moſt of them ſecured themſelves; but ſome were taken by the Enemy, and killed in cold Blood by one of their Officers after Quarter given, and their Lives promiſed to them. At laſt I came to *Salisbury* with about thirty Horſe, where divers Perſons diſaffected to the Parliament made a great ſhout at our coming into the Town, rejoicing at our Defeat, which they had heard of by ſome of our Company, who had paſſed through the Town about an hour before. From thence I continued my way to a place called *Mutton-bridg*, on one ſide of which there is a Cauſway about three foot broad, where I made a halt; and ordering my Party to continue their Retreat towards *Southampton*, I kept ſome of thoſe who were the beſt mounted with me, and made good that Paſs for ſome time againſt the Enemy, who tho they followed us as far as *White Pariſh*, twenty Miles from the place where they firſt began their purſuit, they took no more of our Men after this Halt which we put them to; ſo that with the reſt I arrived ſafe at *Southampton*. Two days after my coming to *Southampton* Col. *Norton* received Advice, that the Enemy was preparing to ſend ſome Forces, in order to beat off thoſe of ours that blocked up *Baſing-houſe*. He being then before *Wincheſter*, and reſolving to march with his Troop to reinforce the Beſiegers, deſired me with my Troop to ſupply his place at *Win-*

cheſter till his Return. Being unwilling to refuſe any publick Service, tho my Men were already very much haraſſed, I marched thither; and that thoſe in the Caſtle might ſee they were not at liberty to ravage the Country, I drew out my Troop and faced them: upon which they ſent out what Horſe they had to skirmiſh with us; amongſt whom obſerving one Mr. *William Neale*, who was of my Acquaintance, and formerly my School-fellow, I called to him, telling him, that I was ſorry to ſee him there; but ſince it was ſo, I offered to exchange a ſhot with him, and riding up to that purpoſe, he retreated towards his Party, where making a ſtand, he called to me to come on, which I did; but he retreated again till he came within the ſhelter of their Foot, and one with him diſmounting, fired a Muſquet at me loaded with a brace of Bullets, of which one went into the Belly of my Horſe, the other ſtruck upon my Breaſt-plate, within half an Inch of the bottom of it: my Horſe carried me off, but died that Night. The Neceſſities of my Men being great, and this Service not immediately belonging to me, I thought it my Duty to return into *Wiltſhire*, where I might expect to be better ſupplied than in *Hampſhire*, to which County I had no relation: therefore ſending to Col. *Norton* to make proviſion for the Service at *Wincheſter*, I marched with fourſcore Horſe to *Salisbury*; which Town having triumphed upon our Defeat, I thought moſt proper to ſup-

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ply us with what we wanted: And to that end having procured a Liſt of the diſaffected in the Town, I required them, without delay, to collect amongſt themſelves five hundred Pounds for the recruiting and paying of my Troop, who had not received any Pay ſince they came out. The Town made many Excuſes, and at laſt prevailed with me to take two hundred Pounds, with which I paid and recruited my Troop; and having diſpoſed them in the beſt manner I could for the Service of the Country, I went to *London* to compleat my Regiment, and to furniſh it with Arms, and all ſuch things as were neceſſary.

In the mean time Sir *Francis Doddington* had cauſed the two Men that he had taken at *Warder* to be hanged, upon pretence that they ran away from him; and having brought ſome Pieces of Cannon before *Woodhouſe*, made a Breach ſo conſiderable in the Wall, that the Beſieged were neceſſitated to ſurrender at Mercy, but they found very little, for they were preſently ſtripp'd of all that was good about them: and Sir *Francis Doddington* being informed by one *Bacon*, who was Parſon of the Pariſh, that one of the Priſoners had threatned to ſtick in his skirts, as he call'd it, for reading the Common-Prayer, ſtruck the Man ſo many Blows upon the Head, and with ſuch Force, that he broke his Skull, and cauſed him to fall into a Swound; from which he was no ſooner recovered, but he was picked out to be one of

the twelve which Sir *Francis* had granted to Sir *William St. Leger* to be hanged, in lieu of ſix Iriſh Rebels who had been executed at *Warum* by Col. *Sydenham*, in purſuance of an Order from the Parliament to give them no Quarter. Theſe twelve being moſt of them Clothiers, were hanged upon the ſame Tree; but one of them breaking his Halter, deſired that what he had ſuffered might be accepted, or elſe that he might fight againſt any two for his Life; notwithſtanding which they cauſed him to be hanged up again, and had proceeded much farther, had not Sir *Ralph Hopton* ſent Orders to put a ſtop to their Butcheries.

The King having ranged about for ſome time, thought fit to return towards *Oxford*; and being joined by ſome Foot from thence, skirmiſhed with Sir *William Waller*'s Army at *Cropredy*-bridg, wherein little hurt being done on either ſide, the King marched into the Weſt, in order to a conjunction with his Forces in thoſe Parts, commanded by Prince *Maurice*.

When I firſt took Arms under the Parliament in Defence of the Rights and Liberties of my Country, I did not think that a Work ſo good and ſo neceſſary would have been attended with ſo great Difficulties: but finding by Experience the ſtrong Combination of Intereſts at home and abroad againſt them, the cloſe Conjunction of the Popiſh and Prelatical Parties in oppoſition to them; what vaſt Numbers depended upon the King for Preferments or Subſiſtence;

ſiſtence; how many of the Nobility and Gentry were contented to ſerve his Arbitrary Deſigns, if they might have leave to inſult over ſuch as were of a lower Order; and adding to all this the great Corruption of the Nation, I became convinced of my former Error, and began now more to wonder that they found ſo many Friends to aſſiſt them in their juſt and lawful Undertaking, than I had done before at the Oppoſition they met with. In theſe Thoughts I was every day more confirmed by obſerving the ſtrange Diviſions amongſt our own Party, every one ſtriving to enlarge his own Power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring tho thereby they obſtructed and ruined the Cauſe it ſelf. Of this I had ſome Experience in my own Particular, as well as others of a much greater Figure than my ſelf: for tho my Country-men had in my Abſence prevailed with the Parliament to make me Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, and engaged themſelves to raiſe a Regiment for me; yet becauſe I refuſed to deliver up my former Commiſſion received from Sir *William Waller*, and to take a new one from the Earl of *Eſſex*, tho that I had from Sir *William* obliged me to obey the ſaid Earl as much as one given me immediately from himſelf, thoſe of my Country-men who were of the Faction of the Earl of *Eſſex*, obſtructed me in the raiſing of my Regiment, keeping from me thoſe Arms that were bought to that end, countenancing my Major, for whom I had procured

cured that Employment, againſt me, and detaining our Pay from us; ſo that I and my Men had nothing to keep us faithful to the Cauſe but our Affection to it. Yet were we not wanting to improve every Opportunity in the beſt manner we could, to the Service of the Country; for having notice that a Gariſon was put into the Lord *Sturton*'s Houſe, and another into that of Sir *Ralph Hopton* at *Witham*, I marched in the Night firſt to *Sturton*-houſe, which was defended againſt us, till each of us carrying a Fagot to one of the Gates, wherewith we ſet them on fire, together with one of the Rooms of the Caſtle, thoſe that kept it ſlipped out at a back-door through the Garden into the Park, which they did undiſcovered, by reaſon of the Darkneſs of the Night. Having rendred that Place untenable, we haſtned to *Witham*, where we found in the Park near a hundred Cattle belonging to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, which ſerved for the Paiment of my Souldiers: Thoſe who were within deſired to treat, and demanded liberty to return home; which was granted, upon condition to deliver up their Arms, and to engage to keep no Gariſon in that Place for the time to come. Being upon my Return, I took with me my Hangings, Pictures, beſt Beds, and other things, which my Father's Servants had ſo well conceal'd at the firſt breaking out of the War in a private part of my Houſe, that they eſcaped the Search of the Enemy, who had plundered all they could find, broken all the

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Windows, taken away the Leads, and pulled up the Boards in moſt parts of the Houſe. Whilſt I was at *London*, that Party which I left in the Country had taken ſome Wool and other things from the Lord *Cottington*, the Lord *Arundel*, and others, which they ſold, and divided the Money amongſt themſelves. From the Lord *Cottington*'s they brought, amongſt other things, a Horſe that had been taken from me before at *Warder*-Caſtle.

The Lord *Fairfax*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Scots, beſieged *York*, of which the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was Governour, having with him a Gariſon conſiſting of ſix or ſeven thouſand Foot, beſides Horſe. After ſome time ſpent in the Siege, Prince *Rupert* arrived with about eighteen thouſand Men, and cauſed the Beſiegers to raiſe the Siege, who joining their Forces, reſolved to obſerve his Motions, and to fight him if they found an occaſion; but that they might be a little refreſhed and furniſhed with Proviſions, which they wanted, they marched towards *Tadcaſter*. If Prince *Rupert*, who had acquired Honour enough by the Relief of *York* in the view of three Generals, could have contented himſelf with it, and retreated, as he might have done, without fighting, the Reputation he had gained would have cauſed his Army to increaſe like the rolling of a Snowball; but he thinking this nothing unleſs he might have all, forced his Enemies to a Battel againſt the Advice of many of thoſe

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that were with him; in which the Left Wing of the Enemy charging the Right Wing of ours, consisting of English and Scots, so totally routed them, that the three Generals of the Parliament quitted the Field, and fled towards *Cawood* Castle: The Left Wing of our Army commanded by Col. *Cromwell*, knowing nothing of this Rout, engaged the Right Wing of the Enemy commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who had gained an advantageous piece of Ground upon *Marston-Moor*, and caused a Battery to be erected upon it, from which Capt. *Walton*, *Cromwell*'s Sister's Son, was wounded by a shot in the Knee. Whereupon Col. *Cromwell* commanded two Field-pieces to be brought in order to annoy the Enemy, appointing two Regiments of Foot to guard them; who marching to that purpose, were attacked by the Foot of the Enemies right Wing, that fired thick upon them from the Ditches. Upon this both Parties seconding their Foot, were wholly engaged, who before had stood only facing each other. The Horse on both sides behaved themselves with the utmost Bravery; for having discharged their Pistols, and flung them at each others Heads, they fell to it with their Swords. The King's Party were encouraged in this Encounter, by seeing the Success of their Left Wing; and the Parliament's Forces that remained in the Field were not discouraged, because they knew it not, both sides eagerly contending for Victory; which, after an obstinate

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Diſpute, was obtained by *Cromwell*'s Brigade, the Enemies Right Wing being totally routed and flying, as the Parliament's had done before, our Horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their Flight. And now the Enemies Left Wing, who had been Conquerors, returned to their former Ground, preſuming upon an entire Victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen Prince *Rupert*; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the Reſerves of *Cromwell*'s Brigade. Prince *Rupert*, upon the routing of the Parliament's Right Wing, concluding all to be his own, had ſent Letters to the King, to acquaint him with the Victory, upon which the Bells were rung, and Bonfires made at *Oxford*. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tilyard*, with above a hundred Officers more, were taken Priſoners by the Parliament's Forces: All the Enemies Artillery, great Numbers of Arms, and a good quantity of Ammunition and Baggage fell alſo into their hands. The Prince's own Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewiſe taken, with many others both of Horſe and Foot. Fifteen days after this Fight, being the *16th* of *July*, 1644. the City of *York* was ſurrendred to the Parliament's Forces upon Articles; and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* having had ſome Diſpute with Prince *Rupert* before the Engagement, wherein ſome Words had paſſed which the Earl could not well digeſt, ſoon after left

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England, and the Prince retired to *Briſtol*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was marched with his Army into *Cornwall*; yet to what publick end I could never underſtand, for the Enemy there had already diſperſed themſelves. Some ſaid that he was perſwaded to march thither by the Lord *Roberts*, to give him an opportunity to collect his Rents in thoſe Parts. Upon this the King drew out what Forces he could from *Oxford*, deſigning to join them with ſome others in the Weſt; by which Conjunction the Parliament apprehending their Army under *Eſſex* to be in danger, ordered Sir *William Waller* to obſerve the King's Motions: But whether the Neglect of relieving him at the *Devizes*, or the Affront put upon him, by commanding him to follow the King after he had been ordered to attend the Service of the Weſt, or what elſe it was that had ſower'd him, I cannot ſay; yet viſible it was, that ſo much Care and Expedition was not uſed in attending the King in his Marches as was requiſite. However Lieutenant General *Middleton*, then under Sir *William Waller*, was ſent with a Party of Horſe to the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Eſſex*; but he kept at ſuch a diſtance from him, that he afforded him little Help. Neither was there that Diligence as ſhould have been then uſed by the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, to engage the King before his Conjunction with the Weſtern Forces, or to fight them when they were united, they not much, if at all, exceeding ours in Number,

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and in Courage and Affection to the Cauſe engaged in much inferiour. But the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord *Roberts* having led the Army into a Corner of *Cornwall*, betook themſelves to the Ships with which the Earl of *Warwick* attended the Motion of the Army. Being thus deſerted, the Horſe broke through the Enemy under the Conduct of Sir *William Balfour*, the Foot and Train of Artillery being left with Major General *Skippon* about *Bodmin*, who was forced, about the latter end of *September*, 1644. to make the beſt Terms he could with the Enemy for them, agreeing to leave their Arms and Cannon behind them, and to be conducted into the Parliament's Quarters, with whatſoever belonged to them; but before the Convoy had done with them, they loſt moſt of their Clothes, and in that condition arrived at *Portſmouth*, where they found their General the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Parliament ſoon cauſed them to be armed and clothed again; and the Horſe having forced their way, as before mentioned, the Army was ſpeedily recruited, ſcarce a Man having taken Arms on the other ſide. The Earl of *Mancheſter* and Sir *William Waller* were ordered with their Forces to draw Weſtward of *London*, as well to favour the Earl of *Eſſex* upon occaſion, as to put a ſtop to the Enemies Approach, if he ſhould attempt it. The King marched, as was expected, in great Triumph out of the Weſt, Sir *William Waller* lying about

bout *Basingstoke*; from whom I received a Letter, inviting me to come to their Assistance: in order to which I began my March with some Horse and Dragoons raised by Major *Wansey*, who had been commanded by the Earl of *Essex* to continue with me; and on the way received an Order from the Committee of both Kingdoms, to advance towards them with what Force I had. We were very well received by them, having with us about five hundred Horse, and particularly because they had been under some apprehensions that the Enemy had intercepted us, who were indeed posted on our way; yet we passed by them in the Night without disturbance, and came safely to our Friends. Within a day or two our Army advanced towards *Newbury*, of which Place the Enemies had possessed themselves. The Earl of *Essex* being indisposed, could not attend that Service, and therefore the Committee of both Kingdoms sent some Members of their own to take care that all possible Advantages might be taken against the Enemy, and to prevent any Contention amongst our Friends concerning the Command, or any other Matters. The River that ran through the Town defended the Enemy on the South-side of it, so that we could not come at them: And on the North-west part of it, within Cannon-shot, lay *Denning-ton*-Castle, in which they had placed a Garison; so that we had no other way to the Town, but on the North-East of it, where they had raised

a Breaſt-work, and furniſhed ſome Houſes that were without it with Foot, the Ground between that and the River being marſhy, full of Ditches, and not paſſable. On the North-ſide of this High-way was a ſtrong Stone Houſe belonging to one Mr. *Doleman*, having a Rampart of Earth about it, which was alſo poſſeſſed by the Enemy; ſo that little could be done upon them the firſt day, ſave skirmiſhing in ſmall Parties, as they thought fit to come out to us. On our ſide we had the Advantage of a Hill, which ſerved in ſome meaſure to cover our Men: Here we planted ſome of our Field-pieces, and fired upon the Enemy, who anſwered us in the like manner from the Town. In the Afternoon they drew two of their Guns to the other ſide of the River, and with them fired upon that part of ours that lay on the ſide of the Hill, who were much expoſed to that place where their Guns were planted: My Regiment being that day on the Guard, received the greateſt Damage; amongſt others my Couſin *Gabriel Ludlow*, who was a Cornet therein, and who had behaved himſelf ſo well in the Defence of *Warder*-Caſtle, was killed: He died not immediately after he was ſhot; ſo that having cauſed him to be removed out of the reach of their Guns, and procured a Chirurgeon to ſearch his Wounds, he found his Belly broken, and Bowels torn, his Hip-bone broken all to ſhivers, and the Bullet lodged in it; notwithſtanding which he recovered ſome

Senſe, tho the Chirurgeon refuſed to dreſs him, looking on him as a dead Man. This Accident troubled me exceedingly, he being one who had expreſſed great Affection to me, and of whom I had great hopes that he would be uſeful to the Publick. In this condition he deſired me to kiſs him, and I not preſently doing it, thinking he had talked lightly, he preſſed me again to do him that favour; whereby obſerving him to be ſenſible, I kiſſed him; and ſoon after having recommended his Mother, Brothers and Siſters to my Care, he died. Our Enemies having ſecured themſelves, as I mentioned before, we were neceſſitated to divide our Army, in order to attack them on the North-weſt ſide of the Town by *Dennington*-Caſtle; where moſt of our Foot who engaged the Enemy were of thoſe who had been lately ſtripp'd by them in *Cornwall:* Which Uſage being freſh in their Memory, cauſed them to charge with ſuch Vigour, that ſome of them ran up to their Cannon, and clapped their Hats upon the Touch-holes of them, falling ſo furiouſly upon the Enemy, that they were not able to ſtand before them, but were forced to quit their Ground, and run under the ſhelter of *Dennington*-Caſtle, leaving behind them ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, beſides many of their Men killed and taken Priſoners. Thoſe on our ſide commanded by the Earl of *Mancheſter* obſerving the Enemy to retreat in that diſorderly manner on the other ſide, thought it their Du-

ty to endeavour to force their Paſſage on this; and to that end our Horſe and Foot, with ſome Cannon, were drawn into a bottom, between *Doleman*'s Houſe and the Hill, where our Guns were firſt planted: Thoſe at the little Houſes, and at the Breaſt-work, fired thick upon us; but our Foot ran up to the Houſes, and attacked the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they were forced to retire to their Breaſt-work; between which and *Doleman*'s Houſe our Men continued firing about an hour and half. But finding many to fall, and that there was no probability of doing any good, they retreated, leaving two Drakes behind them. Our Horſe had ſtood drawn up within a little more than Piſtol-ſhot of the Enemies Works all the while our Foot were engaged, for their Encouragement and Protection againſt any Horſe that ſhould attack them, as alſo to ſecond them in caſe they had made way. I had divers Men and Horſe ſhot, and amongſt the reſt my own. The Night coming on ſeparated us, when drawing off I perceived that my Major had ſecured his Troop in the Rear of all, having taken care that all the Regiment might not be loſt in one Engagement. In the Night the Enemies removed their Cannon and other Carriages to *Dennington*-Caſtle, where having lodged them, they marched between our two Parties towards *Oxford*. The next Morning we drew together, and followed the Enemy with our Horſe, which was the greateſt Body that I ſaw together during the

whole Courſe of the War, amounting to at leaſt ſeven thouſand Horſe and Dragoons; but they had got ſo much Ground of us, that we could never recover ſight of them, and did not expect to ſee them any more in a Body that Year: neither had we, as I ſuppoſe, if Encouragement had not been given them privately by ſome of our own Party. Col. *Norton*'s Regiment of Horſe, with ſome Foot, being left to block up *Baſinghouſe*, he deſired to have more Force aſſigned him for the more effectual carrying on that Work, and particularly my Regiment of Horſe. I was not ignorant of the Hardſhip of that Service, it not being properly my Work, who was raiſed by and for the County of *Wilts*; yet having received an Order to that purpoſe from the General, and ſent my Major with part of the Regiment into *Wiltſhire* for the Defence of that County, I reſolved to obey, eſpecially conſidering that the Entercourſe between *London* and the Weſt was much interrupted by that Gariſon.

The Enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a Body near *Newbury*, where our Army lay, who drew out to oppoſe them. Some ſmall Skirmiſhes happened between them, but a general Engagement was oppoſed in a Council of War by ſome of the greateſt amongſt us. Whereupon the King, in the face of our Army, twice as numerous as his, had time to ſend his Artillery from *Dennington*-Caſtle towards *Oxford*, without any oppoſiti-

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on, to the Aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who wiſhed well to the Publick. But by this time it was clearly manifeſt that the Nobility had no further Quarrel with the King, than till they could make their Terms with him, having, for the moſt part, grounded their Diſſatisfactions upon ſome particular Affront, or the prevalency of a Faction about him. But tho it ſhould be granted, that their Intentions in taking Arms were to oblige the King to conſent to redreſs the Grievances of the Nation; yet if a War of this nature muſt be determined by Treaty, and the King left in the Exerciſe of the Royal Authority after the utmoſt violation of the Laws, and the greateſt Calamities brought upon the People, it doth not appear to me what Security can be given them for the future Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges; nor with what Prudence wiſe Men can engage with the Parliament, who being, by Practice at leaſt, liable to be diſſolved at pleaſure, are thereby rendred unable to protect themſelves, or ſuch as take up Arms under their Authority, if after infinite Hardſhips and Hazards of their Lives and Eſtates, they muſt fall under the Power of a provoked Enemy, who being once re-eſtabliſhed in his former Authority, will never want means to revenge himſelf upon all thoſe who, in Defence of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, adventure to reſiſt him in his illegal and arbitrary Proceedings.

In the Council of War before-mentioned,

things were managed with such heat as created great Differences between the principal Officers of the Army, by which this favourable Conjuncture was lost; and the Season being far advanced, the Army was dispersed into Winter-quarters. The Blockade of *Basinghouse* was also ordered to be broken up, after which I returned with those under my Command into the County of *Wilts*. In the Winter the Parliament caused *Abingdon* to be fortified, of which Place Col. *Brown* was Governour, who holding Correspondence with the Lord *Digby*, then Secretary to the King, promised him that so soon as he had finished the Fortifications, and received all things necessary from the Parliament to defend it, he would deliver it to the King; by which means he kept the King's Forces from interrupting him till he had perfected the Work. But then, as is probable by his Carriage since, observing the Affairs of the Parliament in a better posture than those of the King, he altered his Resolution, and in defiance of the Lord *Digby*, published the Correspondence that had been between them about that matter. The Dissatisfaction that arose upon the permission given the King to carry off his Artillery, rested not till the House of Commons was made acquainted with it by Col. *Cromwell*, who commanded under the Earl of *Manchester*, whom he charged with the breach of his Trust; but he and his Friends endeavoured to lay the blame on others, the Earl of *Essex* and his Party adhering

hering to the Earl of *Manchester*. Whilst I was before *Basing*, some of the Enemies under the Conduct of Col. *Coke* came to *Salisbury*, and were fortifying the *Close* for the King; of which Major *Wansey* having advice, marched thither with the Forces which I had sent into *Wiltshire*, and falling upon them, caused them to retire in haste: but finding the Gates fortified against him, he set fire to them, and seizing upon all their Horse, took the Colonel and fourscore more Prisoners, and sent them to *Southampton*.

At my Return into *Wiltshire* I received Orders from the Committee of both Kingdoms to send what Men I could spare out of my Regiment to reinforce a Party commanded by Major General *Holborn*, who was ordered to march into the West to the Relief of Col. *Blake*, besieged by the Enemy in *Taunton*. I drew out two hundred Horse for that Service, and was necessitated to march with them my self, my Major who had got possession of good Quarters at *Deane*, a House belonging to Sir *John Evelyn*, being not willing to remove. Col. *Edward Popham*, Col. *Starr*, Col. *Brewin*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley*, came from *London* with this Party. In our March we were joined by the Forces of *Dorsetshire*. When we were advanced near the Enemy, my Troop was ordered to a Quarter of which they were in possession, but quitted it upon our Approach, as they did also the Siege soon after, contrary to our expectati-

on. We made use of the Opportunity, and furnished the Town with Provisions and all things necessary; which being done, the Forces of *Wilts* and *Dorsetshire* marched back to the said Counties. Being returned to *Salisbury*, I was informed that the Enemy had put a Garison into *Langford-house*, two Miles from thence, whereupon I resolved to fortify the Belfrey in the *Close*, where I might keep a small Guard to secure it for a Horse-Quarter, and to that end had summoned Workmen to perform that Work. At Night having drawn up my Regiment in order to acquaint them with the necessity that lay upon them to be more than ordinarily diligent in their Duty at that juncture, as also to divide their Watches between them, and to appoint the Guard for that Night, I received an Alarm of the Enemies Approach, and that they were advanced as far as *Amesbury*: Of which desiring to have certain Information, I sent threescore Horse under the Command of Capt. *Sadler*, the only Captain of my Regiment then with me, some of them being absent with leave, and others without, to advance towards the Enemy, till by taking of Prisoners, or some other way, he might get some certain Intelligence concerning them, and then to come back to me. With the rest of my Men I marched slowly after him, being unwilling to retire into our Quarters till I had made a further Discovery concerning the Enemy. Capt. *Sadler*, according to his Instructions, marched to *Amesbury*, and

and ſent me word from thence, that he had advice the Enemy was not far off. I ſent to him to continue his March, with the ſame Orders as before, my ſelf with the reſt of the Regiment following; and being come to *Nether-Haven*, as I think it is called, I received notice from Capt. *Sadler*, that he had engaged an advanced Party of the Enemy, and could not get off; which unexpected News, and contrary to my Orders, cauſed me to advance with all Diligence to his Relief, who had approached ſo near their main Guard, as to give them an Alarm to draw together, and yet had not purſued his Charge, which if he had done, he might eaſily have diſperſed the Guard, and prevented the reſt from coming together; but he having only alarm'd them, ſtood looking upon them whilſt they drew up their Body, which, when I came up, I perceived to be more numerous than all ours: However thinking it unfit to ſhew any Backwardneſs at ſuch a time, I advanced with that Party that was with me, which was not above one half, the reſt following as faſt as they could, in order to charge the Enemies Body; but they, before we came within Piſtol-ſhot, faced about and ran away. Thereupon I divided my Men into two Parties, giving the Command of one of them to one *Marſhall*, my Major's Lieutenant, the chief Officer then with me, except Capt. *Sadler*, with whoſe Conduct the Troopers were ſo far diſſatisfied, that they refuſed to follow him. The

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other Party I headed my ſelf, and gave Orders to both not to purſue farther than the Town, where we agreed to rally, falling into it by ſeveral ways. My Party halted according to Order, after having killed and taken Priſoners about thirty of the Enemy, with ſeveral of their Horſes: But that Party commanded by Lieutenant *Marſhall* not obſerving his Orders, having purſued the Enemy at leaſt two Miles, met with other Bodies of the Enemies Horſe drawn together upon the Alarm, who killed and took ſome of ours Priſoners, the reſt retreating in a diſorderly manner. At my Return to *Salisbury* I commanded all my Men to be upon the Guard till the Morning, without unbridling or unſadling their Horſes; after which I diſpoſed my Priſoners into the Belfrey, and placed a Guard upon them; and having ſet our Sentinels, I received a Letter from Col. *Norton*, deſiring me to ſend ſome Horſe to his Aſſiſtance againſt ſome of the King's Forces, which as I was reading, one of my Sentinels brought me word that the Enemy appeared at the Town's-end. Whereupon I immediately mounted with ſix more, ordering the reſt to make ready; and riding up by the three Swans, heard a great noiſe of Horſes in the Street that leads into the City from *Old Sarum*, which cauſed me to return to the Market-place, where finding many of the Enemies Horſe, I went by the back-ſide of the Town-houſe through a Street called the *Ditch*, to my Guard, which was drawn up in the

the Close, but very short of the Number I expected; for some, contrary to Orders, were gone to bed, and others taking the advantage of the Night had stoln away, so that those remaining were not much above thirty Horse. Of these I sent ten under a Cornet to charge them, my self following after with the rest, and ordering a Trumpet to sound in our Rear, as if more were coming on. Passing by the chief Cross, where we were forced to march one by one, and entring the Market-place, I found the Cornet pickeering with the Enemy, whom I with five or six of mine charged on the Left Flank, so that they gave ground, and thereby pressed so hard upon their own Men on the Right, and they on their File-leaders, that the whole Party was soon routed, and ran before us. We followed them close in the Rear, and tho they made many shot at me, yet I received no Wound in the whole Action. About a hundred of them ran through *Wincheſter*-Gate to their main Body, and about twice that Number fled up a Street called *Endleſs-ſtreet*, whom I pursuing, my Horse fell backwards with me, by a Check I gave him; but my own Men being in my Rear, I soon recovered on Horseback, and continued the Pursuit, till I found the Enemy to make a stand, the Street, according to its name, being walled up at the farther end, and one of them breaking back upon me, and leaping the Brook, but his Horse losing his Feet, threw him down; and he perceiving him-

himself to be at my Mercy, desired his Life. His Horse I gave to one of my Men who had been dismounted; and having examined him, I found that he was a Lieutenant Colonel, his name *Middleton*, and a Papist. He assured me, that there were three hundred Men in that Party which we had routed, three hundred appointed to second them, and three hundred more attending at the Town's-end as a Reserve, and that the whole Body was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. I acquainted him that my Party being not so considerable, he might probably be rescued, and therefore I could not give him Quarter, unless he would engage himself to be a true Prisoner, which he did, upon condition that he might be my Prisoner, which I promised him. And now most of my Men being dispersed, I lodged my Colours at an honest Man's House of the Town, delivering my Prisoner and wounded Men to the Guard in the Belfrey, and with five or six made my Retreat through the Close by one Mrs. *Sadler*'s, at whose House I quartered, where I found a Boy standing at the door with my Sute of Arms, which I put on. Upon *Harnham-hill* I found a Cornet with about twelve of our Men, with whom I resolved to return and march after the Enemy; but when we came to the Belfrey, and were encouraging our little Guard to oppose the Enemy, we discovered three of their Troops marching into the Close from the North-Gate, their whole Body fol-

following them. Whereupon having commanded the Guard to fire upon them, I charged the Enemy with as many of my Party as were willing to follow me, exchanging ſeveral ſhot with them. Their firſt Squadron ſoon began to give ground; but my Guard not firing upon the Enemy according to my Orders, and it being now grown light, they ſoon perceived the Smalneſs of our Number, and refuſed to run as before; ſo that I was forced to retire as faſt as I could with my Men, one of whom carried away a Sword of the Enemy which was run through his Arm. Before they came to *Harnham-bridg* they overtook one of my Servants whoſe Name was *Stent*, who after he had long defended himſelf, delivered up his Sword upon promiſe of Quarter; after which, contrary to their Word, they gave him ſeveral Cuts on the Head, ſo that above threeſcore Splinters of Bones were afterwards taken out of his Scull. Being come to the other ſide of the Bridg, I turned and faced the Enemy, with one of my Piſtols in my hand, upon which they halted a little, whereby my Men had time to recover almoſt to the top of *Harnham-hill*. In this poſture I ſtood till the Enemies were come within half Piſtol-ſhot of me, and then made my Retreat. Another of my Servants, called *Henry Coles*, who entred into my Father's Service two days after I was born, fell alſo into the Enemies hands, being mortally wounded, and died two or three days after. My Groom

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alſo was taken by them. Upon the deſcent of the Hill beyond *Odſtock* I miſſed the Road by reaſon of the Snow, which lying upon the Ground, had covered the beaten way, ſo that I was obliged to croſs ſome plow'd Lands to get into it again; which while I was doing, one of the Enemy came up within ſhot of me, and calling me by my Name, asked if I would take Quarter; but as he rid directly upon me, armed with Back and Breaſt, I fired a Piſtol at him, and ſhot him into the Belly; by which Wound he fell from his Horſe, and was carried to the next Town, where he died two days after, as one of my Troopers afterwards told me, who was taken Priſoner near the ſame place. In *Odſtock-lane* another of the Enemies being advanced within Muſquet-ſhot of me, called me alſo by Name, and deſired me to ſtay and take honourable Quarter. I hearing him give good Words, thought he had propoſed to render himſelf to me, and therefore ſtopped my Horſe, that I might hear him more diſtinctly; but he inſtead of that made ready his Carabine to fire at me, which I perceiving, and ſenſible of my Danger, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of the Enemies Number, made the beſt of my way towards *Fording-bridg*, where having reſted a little, and rallied a Party of my Horſe, I marched with them to *Southampton*. At that Place I endeavoured to procure ſome Force for the Relief of thoſe poor Men that were left in the Belfrey at *Salisbury*; which as I was doing,

I received Advice, that after a vigorous Reſiſtance for the moſt part of that day, the Enemies had forced a Collier to drive his Cart, loaden with Charcoal, to the door of the Belfrey, (where he loſt his Life) and with it burnt down the door, which in a day's time we ſhould have ſecured by a Breaſt-work; but for want thereof Lieutenant Colonel *Read* was forced to yield the Place to the Enemy upon ſuch Terms as he could get, which were, to have their Lives, and be Priſoners of War. The Enemy took here, and in the Town, as alſo of thoſe who purſued them in the Night, contrary to my Orders, fourſcore Priſoners; and had taken more if they had not received a Check upon their firſt Arrival in the Town by a handful of Men: For they had placed Guards at the Gates of moſt of the greateſt Inns in the City; but their Party flying, thoſe Guards alſo quitted their Poſts, whereby many of our Men had an opportunity to get off. I was ſlightly wounded on the Breaſt with a Sword: my Horſe was hurt with a ſhot, and died of it ſoon after. We had about threeſcore of the Enemy Priſoners at *Southampton*, taken with Col. *Coke*; theſe we exchanged for our Men, having engaged to procure elſewhere the Diſcharge of as many as we wanted of the Number they had of ours, which I made good to them. The moſt ſerviceable of my Horſe I ſent towards *Portſmouth*, to take Advantages againſt the Enemy as there ſhould be occaſion, remaining with

with the reſt about *Limington* and *Hurſt-Caſtle*, reſolving as ſoon as I could to mount my Men again. The Enemy hoping to ſurprize me in this Corner marched towards me, but failed in their Deſign. I being gone into the *Iſle of Wight* to confer with our Friends there, whom I found very well diſpoſed to the Publick Service; and being informed that the Enemy deſigned to attempt the Gariſon of *Chriſt-Church*, we imbarked ſome Men to reinforce them, who being ready to put to Sea, News was brought that the Enemies were beaten off, and ſo ſaved our Men that trouble. The Lord *Goring* having left a conſiderable Force in the County of *Wilts*, marched with his Army into *Somerſetſhire*, where being joined by thoſe who had beſieged *Taunton*, they ſat down before it again: Col. *Maſſey* was ſent by the Parliament to relieve the Place, but finding his Forces not ſufficient to that purpoſe, he durſt not attempt it.

The Committee of both Kingdoms ordered my Regiment to lie at *Odium* to prevent the Excurſions of the Gariſon at *Baſinghouſe*; but after we had been there a few days, my Major, who had more Wit than Courage or Honeſty, prevailed with the Council of Officers to vote our lying there unſafe and unadviſable. I being unwilling to ſtay contrary to their Advice, without an eſpecial Order, acquainted the Committee of both Kingdoms with the Reſult of the Council of Officers, who approving their Reaſons,

ſons, ſent me Orders to draw off: In obedience to which I marched into *Surrey*, and the firſt Night arrived at a place called, as I think, *Godliman* near *Guilford*. Sir *John Evelyn* endeavoured to perſwade me to join Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who was ordered into the Weſt; but being engaged to attend our Committee about the recruiting of my Regiment, I was not willing to ſtir till that Buſineſs was effected, that I might not leave ſo many honeſt Men who had loſt their Horſes in the Service, before I had procured ſome proviſion to be made for them. The Diſputes in the mean time continued in the two Houſes concerning the Conduct of the Army; and tho what was objected touching the late Miſcarriages at the Fight of *Newbury*, and elſewhere, amounted not to a formal Charge, yet it ſo far prevailed with the Houſe of Commons, as to convince them of the neceſſity of making an Alteration in the Conduct of the Army, in order to bring the War to a concluſion; which Reſolution was taken by the Houſe upon a Report made to them by Mr. *Zouch Tate*, Chairman of the Committee appointed for the reforming of the Army, wherein he repreſented that they had been endeavouring to obey their Orders, but found the Condition of the Army as the Phyſician did the Blood of his Patient, that conſulted him about the Cure of a ſlight Tumour, when the whole Maſs of his Blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the Committee had or-

dered him to acquaint the Houſe, That the whole Body of their Army being infected, nothing would ſerve for their Recovery leſs than the entire renewing of their Conſtitution. The Houſe, that they might do it without giving occaſion to any ſiniſter Reflections upon themſelves, agreed upon a ſelf-denying Ordinance, the Grounds whereof were expreſſed to be, the clearing of the Parliament from the Aſperſions caſt on them, of prolonging the War on purpoſe to gratify each other with Places, and neglecting their Duty in the Houſe by holding Employments in the Army: They therefore enacted, that all Members of Parliament ſhould ſurrender the Offices they held from them, that they might the better attend their Duty in Parliament. By this means the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sir *William Waller*, were laid aſide, the latter rather to ſhew their Impartiality, than from any Diſtruſt of him, he having never diſcovered to that time any Inclination to favour the King's Cauſe. Upon this Change Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was voted General, and *Philip Skippon* Major General of the Foot. A Committee was alſo appointed to conſider what Number of Horſe and Foot this Army ſhould conſiſt of, and who under the General ſhould command them. They agreed alſo upon the Colonels, ſome whereof were Scots, as *Middleton*, *Holborn*, and others, who diſliking the Deſign, refuſed to accept of Employments. *Pointz* was commiſſionated to command the

† Forces

Forces in the North, and *Maſſey* thoſe in the Weſt, conſiſting chiefly of ſuch as had ſerved under Sir *William Waller*. The Committee would have named me for the Command of a Regiment; but the Gentlemen who ſerved in Parliament for the County of *Wilts*, pretended then that they could not ſpare me; yet ſoon after, obſerving me not fit to promote a Faction, and ſolely applying my ſelf to advance the Cauſe of the Publick, they combined againſt me, and procured me to be laid aſide, under colour that they ſtood not in need of more than four Troops for the Service of the County, of which they offered me the Command; and I ſhould not have declined it, had I found my Endeavours anſwered with ſutable Acceptance, or that they whom I ſerved had been willing the Publick Cauſe, for which I was ready to ſacrifice my Life, ſhould proſper: but the contrary being moſt evident; and tho ſome of the Gentlemen continued to manifeſt their Fidelity to the Publick, and their Affection to me, yet moſt of them having now eſpouſed another Intereſt, and rejoicing at any Loſs that fell upon ours, I choſe rather to deſiſt and wait for a better Opportunity to improve my Talent for the Service of the Publick. My Major, notwithſtanding his Artifices, being diſappointed in his Expectation to command theſe Troops, openly pulled off the Mask, and with about thirty of his Troop, and ſome Strangers, under pretence of beating up a Quarter of the

Enemy, went over to them, having ſent his Wife before to give them notice of his Deſign. But his Lieutenant continuing faithful to the Publick, hindred moſt part of his Troop from following him. Soon after he undertook to raiſe a Regiment in the North Parts of *Wiltſhire* for the King; but whilſt he was attempting to effect it, an Encounter happened between him and ſome Forces of the Parliament, wherein being worſted, and endeavouring to ſave himſelf by leaping over a Ditch, he fell with his Horſe into it, and was ſo bruiſed with his Fall, that he never ſpoke more, thereby receiving ſuch a Recompence as was due to his Treachery.

About the ſame time that the Parliament made Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of their Forces, the King made Prince *Rupert* General of his, notwithſtanding his late ill Succeſs at *Marſton-Moor*, to the great Diſſatisfaction of many of his Council.

The Committee of *Wilts* divided themſelves, one part of them to ſit at *Malmsbury*, and the other to reſide about *Salisbury*; but wanting a Place for their Security, they put a Gariſon into *Falſton-houſe*; and Capt. *Edward Doyly* contending with Major *William Ludlow* for the Government thereof, the Committee at *London* gave it to the latter, who with his Troop ſomewhat reſtrained the Excurſions of the King's Party from their Gariſon thereabouts. That part of the Committee which ſat at *Malmsbury* having

having ſome Affairs to diſpatch at *Marlborough*, went thither accompanied by Col. *Devereux*, Governour of the Place. The firſt Night after their Arrival a Party of the King's ſurprized them there, and took ſome of the Committee, with the ſaid Governour, and moſt of the Forces they had with them, Priſoners.

The Parliament, tho they were not wanting to make all fitting Preparations for War, yet neglected no honeſt Endeavours to procure Peace, aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould be the better enabled to bear whatſoever might be the Event of the War, if they took care to diſcharge their Conſciences in that Particular, and to manifeſt, that as they had been compelled to it by mere Neceſſity, ſo, if it muſt be continued, it ſhould not be through their Choice or Obſtinacy. To this end it was agreed, that Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from the Parliament, to treat with others to be ſent from the King about Conditions of Peace. The Place of their Meeting was at *Uxbridg*, where after the King had owned the two Houſes as a Parliament, to which he was not without difficulty perſwaded, tho he had by an Act engaged that they ſhould continue to be a Parliament till they diſſolved themſelves, which they had not done; and conſented that his Commiſſioners ſhould treat in the ſame Quality they were in before the War, the Commiſſioners of Parliament declining to give them the Titles conferred upon them ſince; they made ſome Pro-

greſs in the Treaty, which began the 13*th* of *January*, 1645. but the Propoſition concerning the Biſhops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the Treaty Mr. *Love*, one of the Chaplains attending the Commiſſioners of Parliament, preaching before them, averred, That the King was a Man of Blood, and that it was a vain thing to hope for the Bleſſing of God upon any Peace to be made with him, till Satisfaction ſhould be made for the Blood that had been ſhed. For theſe Words the King's Commiſſioners demanded Satisfaction; but the Treaty breaking up, nothing was done in order thereunto. And now both Parties renewed the War, *Weymouth* being ſeized for the King, and ſome Advantage obtained againſt the Parliament near *Pomfret*. On the other ſide, the Forces of the Parliament ſurprized the important Town of *Shrewsbury*, whereby the King's Correſpondence with *Wales* became much interrupted. They alſo recovered *Weymouth* by the help of the Gariſon of *Melcolm-Regis*, which is ſeparated from the ſaid Town by a ſmall Arm of the Sea, with a Bridg over it, and which was preſerved by the Induſtry of the Governour Col. *Sydenham*.

Col. *Cromwell*, notwithſtanding the Self-denying Ordinance, was diſpenſed with by the Parliament; and being impower'd to command the Horſe under Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he marched with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons from *Windſor*, and at *Iſlip*-Bridg met, fought, and de-

defeated the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, together with the Regiments of the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Col. *Palmer*, taking five hundred Horſe and two hundred Foot Priſoners, whereof many were Officers and Perſons of Quality. After which he ſummoned *Blechington-houſe*, which was ſurrendred to him by Col. *Windebank*, Son to the late Secretary of State, who coming to *Oxford*, was ſhot to death for ſo doing. He forced Sir *William Vaughan*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, with three hundred and fifty Men, into *Bampton-buſh*, where he took them both, and two hundred of their Men Priſoners, with their Arms; ſending Col. *Fiennes* after another Party, who took a hundred and fifty Horſe, three Colonels, and forty private Souldiers Priſoners, with their Arms: and being reinforced by about five hundred Foot from Col. *Brown*, he attempted *Faringdon-houſe*, but without Succeſs.

General *Fairfax* leaving Lieutenant General *Cromwell* to block up the King at *Oxford*, with the Body of the Army marched Weſtward, with a deſign to relieve *Taunton*; but being ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms to beſiege *Oxford*, he appointed Col. *Welden* to relieve that Town, which he eaſily effected, the Enemy marching off at his Approach, apprehending them to be the whole Army marching againſt them, as they before had been informed. The King ſent the Prince of *Wales*, accompanied with *Hyde* and *Culpeper*, into the

Weſt, to raiſe Forces; and deſpiſing the *New Model*, as it was called, becauſe moſt of the old Officers were either omitted by the Parliament, or had quitted their Commands in the Army, judging himſelf Maſter of the Field, marched towards *Leiceſter*, and by this time was grown ſo conſiderable, that the Committee of both Kingdoms thought it high time to look after him, and to that end commanded the General with the Army to march and obſerve his Motions; but before he could overtake him, the King had made himſelf Maſter of *Leiceſter* by ſtorm, and plundered it, with the loſs of about ſeven hundred Men on his ſide, and about one hundred of the Town. Being encouraged with this Succeſs, and with the conſideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced Enemy, upon advice that our Army was in ſearch of him, he advanced towards them, and both Armies met in the Field of *Naſeby* on the 14*th* of *June*, 1645. Some days before one Col. *Vermuyden*, an old Souldier, who commanded a Regiment of Horſe, had laid down his Commiſſion, whether through diffidence of Succeſs, or what other Conſideration, I know not: and in the beginning of the Engagement Major General *Skippon*, the only old Souldier remaining amongſt the chief Officers of the Army, received a ſhot in the Body from one of our own Party, as was ſuppoſed unwillingly, whereby he was in a great meaſure diſabled to perform the Duty of his Place that day, tho

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extreamly desirous to do it. Under these Discouragements the Horse upon our Left Wing were attacked by those of the Enemies Right, and beaten back to our Cannon, which were in danger of being taken, our Foot giving ground also. But our Right Wing being strengthned by those of our Left that were rallied by their Officers, fell upon the Enemies Left Wing, and having broken and repulsed them, resolving to improve the Opportunity, charged the main Body of the King's Army, and with the Assistance of two or three Regiments of our Infantry, entirely encompassed the Enemies Body of Foot, who finding themselves deserted by their Horse, threw down their Arms, and yielded themselves Prisoners. By this means our Horse were at leisure to pursue the King, and such as fled with him towards *Leicester*, taking many Prisoners in the pursuit, who with those taken in the Field amounted in all to about six thousand, and amongst them six Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, eighteen Majors, seventy Captains, eighty Lieutenants, eighty Ensigns, two hundred inferiour Officers, about one hundred and forty Standards of Horse and Foot, the King's Footmen and Servants, and the whole Train of Artillery and Baggage. This Victory was obtained with the Loss of a very few on our side, and not above three or four hundred of the Enemy.

In the Pursuit the King's Cabinet was taken, and in it many Letters of Consequence, particularly

cularly one from the Lord *Digby*, adviſing the King, before any Act of Hoſtility on either ſide, to betake himſelf to ſome Place of Strength, and there to declare againſt the Parliament; by which Men perceived that the Deſign of making War upon the Parliament was reſolved upon early, the King having followed this Council exactly.

The Parliament had impeached *Finch* of High Treaſon, for adviſing the illegal Tax of Ship-money, ſoliciting the Judges to declare it lawful, and threatning thoſe who refuſed ſo to do, for which good Service the King had preferred him to be Keeper of the Great Seal; but the Place being vacant upon his Flight, the King would not entruſt it with *Littleton* before he had obliged him by an Oath to promiſe to ſend the Seal to the King whenſoever he ſhould by any Meſſenger require it of him; which I am inclined to believe to have been the Cauſe why *Littleton* left the Parliament, not daring to ſtay, after he had, according to his Oath, ſent the Seal to the King by one Mr. *Elliot*, diſpatched to him by the King for that purpoſe. The Seal being thus carried away, the Parliament finding Juſtice obſtructed through the want of it, declared, that the Seal ought to attend them during their Sitting, and therefore that all that was or ſhould be done ſince it was carried to the King, was null and void. Upon which a new Seal was ordered to be made, and Commiſſioners nominated for the keeping of it,

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and putting it in execution to all Intents and Purpoſes, the Parliament thereby exerciſing the Supreme Authority in virtue of their frequent Declarations; *That the King doth nothing in his perſonal Capacity as King, but in his politick Capacity according to Law; of which the Judges of* Weſtminſter-hall *are Judges in the Intervals of Parliament; and during the ſitting of Parliament the Two Houſes being the Great Council both of King and People, are the ſole Judges thereof.*

In the King's Cabinet were alſo found Letters from the Queen, blaming him for owning thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to be a Parliament, and warning him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the Roman Catholicks; with a Copy of his Anſwer, wherein he promiſed his Care of the Papiſts, and excuſed his owning the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* to be a Parliament; aſſuring her, that if he could have found two of his Mongrel Parliament at *Oxford*, as he called them, of his mind therein, he would never have done it; and that tho he had done it publickly, the Parliament refuſing to treat with him otherwiſe, yet he had given Order to have it entred in the Journal of his Council, that this, notwithſtanding, ſhould not be of any Validity for the enabling them to be a Parliament. Another Paper was found with them, giving ſome Account of the Troubles in *Ireland*, wherein the Papiſts who had taken Arms being qualified *Rebels*, that term was ſtruck out, and the word

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Iriſh added by the King himſelf. There was likewiſe a Letter to the French King, complaining of the Unkindneſs and Ingratitude of the Queen, and of the Reaſons of the Removal of her Servants that ſhe brought over with her; of which it had been Diſcretion in the King to have kept no Memorials, ſuch Matters, when buried in Oblivion, being next beſt to the not having any Differences between ſo near Relations. Many more Letters there were relating to the Publick, which were printed with Obſervations, by Order of the Parliament; and others of no leſs Conſequence ſuppreſſed, as I have been credibly informed, by ſome of thoſe that were intruſted with them, who ſince the King's Return have been rewarded for it. One Paper I muſt not omit which was here found, being that very Paper which contained the principal Evidence againſt the Earl of *Straffford*, and had been, as before mentioned, purloined from the Committee appointed by the Houſe of Commons to manage the Charge againſt him, having theſe Words written upon it with the King's own Hand, *This Paper was delivered to me by George Digby*, tho he, as well as the reſt of that Committee, had ſolemnly proteſted, that he had neither taken that Paper away, nor knew what was become of it. The Priſoners and Standards taken in the Fight were brought through *London* to *Weſtminſter*. The Standards were ordered to be hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Priſoners were ſecured

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in the Artillery-Ground near *Tuttle-fields*; a Committee being appointed to consider how to dispose of them, who permitted those to return home that would give Security for their living peaceably for the future; but such as did not, which was much the greater Number, were shipped off to serve in Foreign Parts upon Conditions. This Success was astonishing, being obtained by Men of little Experience in Affairs of this nature, and upon that account despised by their Enemies; yet it proved the deciding Battel, the King's Party after this time never making any considerable Opposition. *Leicester* capitulated two days after, and was surrendred; and some of our Forces besieged *Chester*, whilst the Scots did the like to *Hereford*. The General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* marched with the Army to relieve our Friends at *Taunton*, where Col. *Welden* was besieged, took *Highworth* in his March, and dissipated the Club-men, defeated *Goring*'s Forces at *Lamport*, possessed himself of the Towns of *Bridgwater* and *Bath* by Capitulation, and of *Sherburn*-Castle by storm. *Bristol* also was surrendred after the Outworks and Fort had been taken by Assault, with divers other Successes of less importance, and therefore unnecessary to be mentioned here. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* being sent to reduce such Garisons as were in the way to *London*, began with the Castle of *Winchester*, which was delivered to him upon Articles; after which he marched to *Basinghouse*, and erected

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a Battery on the East-side of it; by which having made a Breach, he stormed and entered it, putting many of the Garison to the Sword, and taking the rest with the Marquiss of *Winchester*, whose House it was, Prisoners. Col. *Robert Hammond* had been before made Prisoner by the *Marquiss*, and was kept here by him in order to secure his own Life, which he did by putting himself under the Colonel's Protection, when ours entred the Place. It was suspected that Col. *Hammond*, being related to the Earl of *Essex*, whose half-Sister was married to the Marquiss of *Winchester*, had suffered himself to be taken Prisoner on design to serve the said Marquiss. The next Place he attempted was *Langford-house* near *Salisbury*, which was yielded in a day or two upon Articles. The Works about *Basing* were levelled, *Sherborn*-Castle slighted, as also *Falston*-house, of which Major *Ludlow* was Governour, who was removed to undertake the same Charge at *Langford*-house, wherein the Parliament thought fit to keep a Garison by reason of its nearness to the Enemy.

The King, as well to secure himself by getting as far from our Forces as he could, as to raise a new Army if possible, marched with the Horse that he had left towards *North-Wales*, hoping in his way to relieve *Chester* besieged by Sir *William Brereton*, and by his Presence in *Wales* to prevail with them to furnish him with a Body of Foot: but he found himself frustrated

ted in both these Designs: For being worsted near *Routen* Heath by Major General *Pointz*, who commanded a Brigade of the Parliament's in those Parts, he saw the Face of Affairs much altered both in *North* and *South-Wales*: In the last of which, tho he was entertained civilly by some particular Persons, yet the generality of the Country, that during his Successes had subjected themselves even slavishly to his Instruments, now fearing he might draw the Army of the Parliament after him, and make their Country the Seat of War, began to murmur against him, and drew together a numerous Body in the nature of a Club-Army, whispering amongst themselves as if they intended to seize his Person, and deliver him to the Parliament to make their Peace. Which being reported to the King, he thought fit to retire from thence with his Forces, only leaving a small Garison in the Castle of *Cardiff*, which, together with the County, was soon after reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament by Col. *Pritchard*, where Sir *John Strangwaies* was amongst others taken Prisoner, who by order of the Parliament was sent up to *London*, and committed to the Tower. The Isle of *Anglesey*, and such Places of *North-Wales* as had been held for the King, were surrendred to the Parliament; but *Glamorganshire* and the parts adjacent continued not long in their Duty, but revolted at the Instigation of one Mr. *Kerne* of *Winny*, who pretending great Fidelity to the Parliament,

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was intruſted by them as their Sheriff for that County, and made uſe of that Authority to raiſe the County againſt them, and to beſiege Colonel *Pritchard*, and the reſt of their Friends in the Caſtle of *Cardiff*; who being reduced to ſome neceſſity, had been probably conſtrained to ſurrender it, had not ſpeedy relief been procured from the Parliament under the Conduct of Colonel *Kirle* of *Gloceſterſhire*; who falling ſuddenly upon the Enemy, routed and killed many of them.

The King's Affairs being in this low condition in *England* and *Wales*, he reſolved to try what might be done in *Scotland*; in order to which, he commands the Lord *Digby* to march thither with a Party of ſixteen hundred Horſe, and to join the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* then in Arms for him in that Kingdom. In obedience to the King's Order, the Lord *Digby* marched from *Newark*, and in his way ſurprized about eight hundred of ours near *Sherbon*; but was afterwards routed by Col. *Copley*, who recovered the Men and Arms taken from ours, killed forty of the Enemy upon the ſpot, took four hundred of them Priſoners, and about ſix hundred Horſes: The Lord *Digby*'s Coach and Papers were alſo taken. This Party was defeated a ſecond time by Sir *John Brown*, and a third by Col. *Bright*, who took two hundred of them Priſoners; the Lord *Digby* with about twenty more hardly eſcaping to the Iſle of *Man*, and from thence to *Ireland*.

At

At the approach of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, the Enemy raiſed the Siege of *Taunton*; from thence the General marched to *Honyton*, and the next day to *Colompton*, from whence the Enemy retired in great diſorder. On *October* 20. the Army, tho much weakned by hard Duty and the Rigour of the Seaſon, reſolved upon the Blockade of *Exeter*. *Carmarthen* Caſtle, *Monmouth*, and divers other Places were ſurrendred to the Parliament: ſo that the King looking upon the Rebels in *Ireland* as his laſt Refuge, ſends Orders to the Earl of *Ormond* not only to continue the Ceſſation, but to conclude a Peace with them, upon condition they would oblige themſelves to ſend over an Army to his Aſſiſtance againſt the Parliament of *England*. The Supreme Council of *Ireland*, as they called themſelves, having notice of it, invited the Earl of *Ormond* to *Kilkenny* to treat about the ſame; who being willing to ſee his Relations and his Eſtate in thoſe Parts, as alſo to expedite that Service, accepted their Invitation, and marched thither with about three or 4000 Horſe and Foot for his Guard, which by the advice of the Lord *Mountgarret* and the Supreme Council, were diſperſed into Quarters in the Villages thereabouts; the Earl of *Ormond* ſuſpecting nothing, having ſent Orders to Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who commanded that Party under him, to that purpoſe: but he being an old and experienced Commander, well acquainted with the Treachery of that Nation,

and particularly of thoſe of the Popiſh Religion, knowing how eaſy it would be for the Iriſh to cut them off in the Quarters aſſigned for them, reſolved not to conſent to the diſperſing of his Men; and therefore deſired of the Earl of *Ormond*, that he might quarter with them in the Field, or where his Lordſhip ſhould appoint, deſiring if this would not ſatisfy, he might have Liberty to return home; adviſing him not to truſt his Perſon with them, notwithſtanding their fair Words. My Lord hereupon leaves the Care of quartering his Men to Sir *Francis Willoughby*; but reſolves himſelf to ſtay at *Kilkenny*. Sir *Francis* draws the Troops into *Goran*, a Town five Miles from *Kilkenny*, where he kept his Guards with as much Caution as if he had been in an Enemies Country. The Enemy being by this means diſappointed of their Deſign to cut off the Party by ſurprize, reſolved to attempt it by open Force; and all the favour that the Earl of *Ormond* could get amongſt his Relations, was to have notice to ſhift for himſelf, which with much difficulty he did, ſending Orders to his Forces to march towards *Dublin*, in which he was very readily obeyed by them, having had advice that the Country was riſing upon them; which they did in ſuch numbers, that if Col. *Bagnal* Governour of *Loughlyn* had not permitted them to paſs the Bridg there, they had in all appearance been cut off. When they had recovered their own Quarters, they diſcovered a piece of

Treachery,

Treachery, as Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who gave me this account, judged it to be, tho he knew not on whom to charge it: for they found that they had not been in a condition to make any Oppoſition, if the Enemy had fallen upon them, the Powder with which they were furniſhed having no force in it; which came to be diſcovered upon the trial of a Muſquet at a Mark, by the ſmall report it gave, and the fall of the Bullet half way from it: Whereupon ſearching further into the matter, they found all their Store to be of the ſame ſort. The Iriſh ſeized upon all the Earl of *Ormond*'s Plate, and whatſoever he had with him at *Kilkenny*, his Haſte not permitting him to ſave any thing. By this Uſage his Zeal for the proſecution of the Treaty with the Rebels became much abated. The King's Commiſſion to the Earl of *Ormond* was not of ſo large an extent as he was willing to allow, in caſe the Treaty with the *Iriſh* came to any effect; and therefore the Earl of *Glamorgan*, afterwards Earl of *Worceſter*, was impowered by private Inſtructions from him, to promiſe them the Liberty of the Romiſh Religion, with divers other Advantages to the Iriſh Rebels, upon which he treated with them. But becauſe this, when it came to be publickly known in *England*, was highly reſented by many even of the King's Party, the Lord *Digby*, who was ordered by the King to aſſiſt in that Affair, finding that the Treaty was not like to take effect, to give a ſpecious Colour to the

matter, as if *Glamorgan* had in that particular exceeded his Commiſſion, accuſed him of High Treaſon, and procured him to be impriſon'd by the Earl of *Ormond*: but in Letters intercepted from the Lord *Glamorgan* to his Lady, he deſired that ſhe would not entertain any Fears concerning him; for that he doubted not, if he could be admitted to be heard, that he ſhould be able to juſtify his Proceedings, to the Confuſion of thoſe who had cauſed his Impriſonment.

The Engliſh Officers and Souldiers provoked by the late Treachery of the Iriſh, and apprehending that without Aſſiſtance from *England* they might fall into their hands, would not be ſatisfied unleſs a Meſſage were ſent to the Parliament to treat about Conditions for the putting of *Dublin*, and the Proteſtant Forces of *Ireland*, into their Hands: In order to which the Parliament ſent over Commiſſioners to treat with the Earl of *Ormond* and the Council. But tho the Earl was not willing that any thing ſhould be concluded at that time; yet Sir *Francis Willoughby* was, as I have heard him ſay, ſo far convinced of the Neceſſity and Duty that lay upon them ſo to do, that he promiſed our Commiſſioners to preſerve the Caſtle of *Dublin*, of which he was then Governour, for the Service of the Parliament, whenſoever they ſhould command it.

Montroſs having obtained a Victory againſt thoſe whom the Scots had left to preſerve the

Peace of *Scotland*, by the means of which he was become Maſter of a great part of that Kingdom, *David Leſley* was ſent thither from *Hereford* with moſt of the Scotiſh Horſe, where he defeated the Army of *Montroſs*, and reduced that Nation to its former Obedience.

After the Surrender of *Briſtol* to the Forces of the Parliament, Prince *Rupert* who had been Governour thereof returned to *Oxford*, where he found ſo cool a Reception from the King by reaſon of the Loſs of that Place, that Col. *Leg* then Governour of *Oxford* was turned out of that Command for being of his Faction, and the Government of that City put into the Hands of Sir *Thomas Glenham*. The Prince was for ſome time forbidden to wear a Sword; and tho he was ſoon after reſtored to that Liberty, yet he was never more intruſted with any Command. The Houſe of Commons finding their Buſineſs to increaſe, and their numbers to diminiſh by the Death of ſome, and Deſertion of others to the King at *Oxford*, ordered the Commiſſioners of the Seal to iſſue out Writs to ſuch Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, as the Houſe by their particular Order ſhould direct, for the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament. They ordered alſo a Jewel to be prepared of the Value of about ſeven hundred Pounds, to be preſented to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; it had the Houſe of Commons repreſented on one ſide, and the Battel of *Naſeby* on the other: three Members of Parliament were

deputed to carry the Preſent to him; the Opportunity of whoſe Guard I took to go into the Weſt without diſturbance, which was difficult to do at that time, many of the King's Party hovering about the Downs, from whence they were called Col. *Downs* his Men; who rendring the Rode unſafe, I procured a Guard of twenty or thirty of the County Horſe to accompany me during my ſtay in thoſe Parts. So ſmall a Number not being ſufficient either to defend me, or to make any Attempt, I betook my ſelf to Col. *Maſſey*'s Party, commanded at that time by Col. *Edward Cook*, where I had not been long before an Alarm was given, that a Party of Horſe from *Oxford* had marched by, with a deſign to relieve *Corfe*-Caſtle, beſieged at that time by our Forces: But before we could get our Men together, they had ſurprized part of ours in *Warham*, and beaten off the Guard between that Place and the Caſtle, which they relieved with what they could, and were returned back again. In this Action a Brother of my Father's was mortally wounded, taken Priſoner by the Enemy, and died the next day. Col. *Cook* was forced to content himſelf to reinforce the Beſiegers, and to return to his former Station.

The Army commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having left a ſtrong Party to block up *Exeter*, advanced Weſtward towards the Enemy; and at *Bovey Tracy* fought the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, took four hun-

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dred Horſe, and about a hundred Foot, Priſoners, with ſix Standards, one of which was the King's. Two Regiments of ours appeared before *Dartmouth*, and ſummoned it; but the Gariſon being numerous, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, refuſed to ſurrender: upon which the Army advancing, poſſeſſed themſelves of their Outworks, and having turned their Cannon upon them, two Forts, diſtant about a Mile from the Town, wherein were thirty four Pieces of Cannon, and two Ships of War that were in the Harbour, ſurrendred; which the Governour underſtanding, capitulated, and delivered the Town upon Articles, being permitted to march off himſelf; but Sir *Hugh Pollard*, the Earl of *Newport*, Col. *Seymour*, four Colonels, with divers others, were to remain Priſoners: and a French Veſſel coming into the Harbour, not knowing what had paſſed, was ſeized, and Letters of Conſequence found in her from the Queen. The Prince of *Wales*, who to countenance their Affairs had the name of General in the Weſtern Parts, finding their Affairs deſperate, ſhipped himſelf for *Scilly*, leaving the Command of their Forces to Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who was ſoon after ſummoned by General *Fairfax* to lay down his Arms; and after ſeveral Meſſages, four Commiſſioners on each ſide met at *Treſilian*-Bridg, and came to an Agreement; the Subſtance of which was, to deliver up all their Arms, Artillery, and Ammunition, except what was excepted by the

Articles; to be admitted to compound according to the Rates fixed by the Parliament, and to have Liberty granted for ſuch as deſired it to go beyond Sea, which Sir *Ralph Hopton* and ſome others did. The People of *Padſtow* ſeized a Ship coming from *Ireland*, and perceiving a Letter floating in the Sea, took it up, and opening it, found it to be from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, therein acquainting the King's Party, that ſix thouſand Iriſh were ready to be embarked for their Aſſiſtance, and that four thouſand more ſhould follow them in a ſhort time. Upon the diſperſion of Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Army, moſt of the Forts and tenable Places in the Weſt procured the beſt Conditions they could for themſelves. *Hereford* was ſurprized on the 18*th* of *December*, by Col. *Birch* and Col. *Morgan*, after it had been beſieged for about two Months ineffectually by the Scots: In this Place was taken that inveterate Enemy to the Parliament Serjeant *Jenkins*, with ſome others. In *February* following *Byron* the Governour of *Cheſter* ſurrendred that Place upon Terms.

The beſt Friends of the Parliament were not without fears what the Iſſue of their new Elections might be: for tho the People durſt not chuſe ſuch as were open Enemies to them, yet probably they would ſuch as were moſt likely to be for a Peace upon any Terms, corruptly preferring the Fruition of their Eſtates and ſenſual Enjoyments before the Publick Intereſt; which ſort of Men were no leſs dangerous than the

the other: and therefore honeſt Men in all Parts did what they could to promote the Election of ſuch as were moſt hearty for the Accompliſhment of our Deliverance; judging it to be of the higheſt Importance ſo to wind up things, that we might not be over-reach'd by our Enemies in a Treaty, that had not been able to contend with us in open War. To this end I endeavoured that my Uncle Mr. *Edmund Ludlow* might be choſen for the Borough of *Hinden*, where tho he was elected and returned by the principal Burgeſſes and Bailiff, yet the Rabble of the Town, many of whom lived upon the Alms of one Mr. *George How*, pretending that they had choſen the latter, the Sheriff returned them both. By this means Mr. *How* got firſt into the Houſe; but they being informed of the matter of Fact, commanded him to withdraw till the Caſe ſhould be decided by the Committee of Privileges. Shortly after a Writ being iſſued out for the Election of two Knights to ſerve for the County of *Wilts*, in the room of my Father, who died in their Service, and of Sir *James Thynne*, who contrary to his Truſt had deſerted to the King at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Pembroke* ſent to me, and acquainted me, that he underſtood that the Country was inclined to chuſe me to ſerve for one of their Knights in Parliament, deſiring me to endeavour that his ſecond Son Mr. *James Herbert* might be choſen for the other, promiſing that tho he was young, yet he would undertake he

ſhould

ſhould vote honeſtly for the Commonwealth. I inform'd him, that I knew nothing of the Intentions of the County to elect me, but hoped that if they elected his Son, he would make good his Promiſe. His Son, alſo entred into the like Engagement for himſelf. At the Day appointed for the Election, having had ſeveral Invitations ſo to do, I attended according to Cuſtom, and the Words of the Writ, which require the Candidates to be preſent at the Place of Election. The Earl of *Pembroke*'s Friends deſired me to conſent that his Son might have the firſt Voice, which I did, tho many of the Country Gentlemen were unwilling to permit it: which done, the County was pleaſed to confer the Truſt upon me without any Oppoſition. Some who were not preſent, took it ill that I ſent not to them to deſire their Company, which I excuſed, aſſuring them that I had not ſent to any Perſon, having forborn ſo to do, not out of any Diſreſpect to them, or Confidence in my own Intereſt, but out of a Senſe of my own Inability to undertake ſo great a Charge, as well as out of a Deſire to have a clear and unqueſtionable Right to an Employment of ſuch Importance. When I came to the Houſe of Commons, I met with Col. *Robert Blake*, attending to be admitted, being choſen for *Taunton*; where having taken the uſual Oaths, we went into the Houſe together, which I choſe to do, aſſuring my ſelf, he having been faithful and active in the Publick Service abroad, that we

ſhould

ſhould be as unanimous in the carrying it on within thoſe Doors.

The Parliament being ſenſible that the King had corrupted thoſe Forces that they had ſent over to ſuppreſs the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and that they had no great Aſſurance of the Lord *Inchequin*, nominated the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, to be Lieutenant for *Ireland*, looking upon him as the moſt conſiderable Perſon of Integrity they could think upon. He procured the Liberty of Col. *Monk*, then Priſoner in the Tower, upon information that he had good Experience in that War, and an Intereſt in the Souldiers there; to which Mr. *William Cawley* gave his ſingle Negative. On the 13*th* of *April*, 1646. *Exeter* was delivered to ours upon Articles, by which all ſuch as were in the Town and Gariſon were admitted to compound for their Eſtates, paying two Years Value for the ſame. *Barnſtable*, *Dunſtar*-Caſtle, and *Michael*'s-Mount in *Cornwall*, were alſo ſurrendred: in the laſt of which Places the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* was Priſoner by the King's Order, and reſtored to his Liberty upon the Surrender of it, which Favour he acknowledged to the Members of the Houſe of Commons, attending in Perſon at their door to that end. The moſt conſiderable Body of Men remaining in the Field for the King was commanded by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, who being on his March towards *Oxford*, was attacked by Col. *Morgan* and

and Sir *William Brereton* at *Stow in the Woald*, where, after a ſharp Diſpute on both ſides, Sir *Jacob Aſhley*'s Forces were entirely defeated, many of them killed and wounded, and himſelf taken Priſoner. During his Confinement he was heard to ſay, *That now they had no hopes to prevail but by our Diviſions.* Which deſerves the more Reflection, becauſe he being well acquainted with the King's Secrets, was not ignorant, that many amongſt us, who at the beginning appeared moſt forward to engage themſelves, and to invite others to the War againſt the King, finding themſelves diſappointed of thoſe Preferments which they expected, or out of ſome particular Diſguſts taken, had made Conditions with the King not only for their Indemnity, but for Places and Advancements under him; endeavouring by a Treaty, or rather by Treachery, to betray what had coſt ſo much Blood to obtain. Theſe Men, to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, applied themſelves to the Presbyterian Party, who jealous of the Increaſe of Sectaries, of which the Army was reported chiefly to conſiſt, readily joined with them. By which Conjunction moſt of the new elected Members were either Men of a neutral Spirit, and willing to have Peace upon any Terms, or ſuch, who tho they had engaged againſt the King, yet finding things tending to a Compoſition with him, reſolved to have the Benefit of it, and his Favour, tho with the Guilt of all the Blood that had been ſhed in the War upon their

their Heads, in not requiring Satisfaction for the ſame, nor endeavouring to prevent the like for the future; deſigning at the moſt only to puniſh ſome inferiour Inſtruments, whilſt the Capital Offender ſhould not only go free, but his Authority be ſtill acknowledged and adored, and ſo the Nation more enſlaved than ever to a Power, which tho it deſtroys the People by Thouſands, muſt be accountable to none but God for ſo doing; whom ſome Perſons, as it is apparent by their Uſage of Mankind, either think not to be, or not at all ſuperiour to them. Another ſort of Men there was amongſt us, who having acquired Eſtates in the Service of the Parliament, now adhered to the King's Party for the preſerving of what they had got; who, together with ſuch as had been diſcharged from their Employments by the Reform of the Army, or envied their Succeſs, combined together againſt the Commonwealth. This Party was encouraged and ſupported upon all occaſions by the Scots and the City of *London*: The firſt of them, tho they began the War, and tho their Aſſembly of Miniſters had declared the King guilty of the Blood of Thouſands of his beſt Subjects, their Covenant engaging them in the preſervation of his Perſon ſo far only as might conſiſt with the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject; yet having had many good Opportunities in *England*, and hoping for more, ſuppoſing it to be in their Power to awe the King to whatſoever they

ſhould

ſhould think fit, they were contented to ſwallow that Ocean of Blood that had been ſhed, preſſing the Parliament by their Commiſſioners to conclude upon ſuch Terms with the King, as ſhewed them rather Advocates, than ſuch as had been Enemies to him. The latter having had their Treaſure much exhauſted by the War, and their Trade long interrupted, beſides the Influence the Scots had upon them by the means of their Miniſters, the Common Council being alſo debauched by Serjeant *Glyn*, and others of that Party in the Houſe of Commons; it was not ſo much to be wondred at if they earneſtly ſolicited for a ſpeedy Determination of the Difference by a Treaty. The King alſo perceiving Judgment to be given againſt him by that Power to which both Parties had made their ſolemn Appeal, thought it adviſable to make uſe of the Foxes Skin, and for a time to lay aſide that of the Lion, ſending Meſſages to the Parliament to deſire of them a ſafe Conduct for his coming to *London* in Honour, Freedom and Safety, there perſonally to treat with the Two Houſes about the means of ſettling a firm and laſting Peace; the Scots in the mean time repeating their Inſtances with the Parliament, to enter into the Conſideration of the Articles of Religion contained in the Covenant, to give a ſpeedy Peace to his Majeſty, to pay them near two hundred thouſand Pounds, which they pretended to be due to them for their Arrears, and to make a juſt Eſtimate of the Loſſes they had

had ſuſtained by Sea and Land ſince the beginning of the War, for want of ſuch Supplies as were promiſed them, which they computed at more than the former Sum. The Parliament, for divers Reaſons, thought it not convenient to comply with the King's Propoſitions; and in anſwer to the Scots, demanded of them an exact Account of what was due to them, requiring them to withdraw their Gariſons from ſuch Places as they poſſeſſed in *England*. Some Differences they had alſo with the Scots Commiſſioners concerning the Excluſion of the King from having any thing to do with the Militia, and touching the Scots intermedling with the Government of *England*, about the Education of the King's Children, the disbanding of Armies, and an Act of Oblivion; in which Matters the Parliament of *England* would not permit the Scots to interpoſe; and therefore their Commiſſioners acquainted them that they had not Power to conſent to any Demands of that nature: whereupon the Deputies of *Scotland* applied themſelves to the Two Houſes, demanding that they would enlarge the Powers of their Commiſſioners to that end. But there being found in theſe Demands of the Scots ſome Expreſſions highly reflecting upon the Parliament, the Two Houſes declared them to be injurious and ſcandalous, and ordered them to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. After which they commanded the Army to beſiege *Oxford*, who in order to that

Deſign

Design blocked up *Farringdon*, *Wallingford*, and *Woodstock*; but before they could form the Siege of *Oxford*, the King escaped from thence on the *27th* of *April*, 1646. of which notice being given to the Parliament by Col. *Rainsborough*, who lay before *Woodstock*; they suspecting that he designed to come to *London* to raise a Party against them, published an Ordinance, declaring, That whosoever should harbour or conceal the King's Person, should be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Commonwealth. Within three or four days they received a Message from the Scots Army, informing the Parliament of the King's coming to them, and pretending to be much surprized at it; but it appeared afterwards that this Resolution had been communicated to them before. The King was accompanied in this Expedition by one *Hudson*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, passing as a Servant to the latter. Upon this notice, the House of Commons sent an Order to their Commissioners in the Scots Army to demand the Person of the King, judging it unreasonable, that the Scots Army being in their Pay, should assume the Authority to dispose of the King otherwise than by their Order; resolving further that the King should be conducted to the Castle of *Warwick*, and that those who came out of *Oxford* with him should be brought to *London*. The next day they commanded their Army to advance, in order to hinder the Conjunction of the King's Forces with

with the Scots. The King ſoon after his Arrival at the Scots Quarters, gave order for the Delivery of *Newark* into their Hands; which having received, they ſurrendred to the Engliſh, and marched with the King to *Newcaſtle*; whereof the Houſe of Commons being informed, and that the Earl of *Leven*, General of the Scots Army, had by Proclamation forbidden his Forces to have any Communication with the King's Party, they deſiſted from their Reſolution of advancing their Army, and of conducting the King to *Warwick*, ordering the Scots to keep him for the Parliament of *England*. Mr. *Aſhburnham* was permitted by the Scots to make his Eſcape, but Mr. *Hudſon* was brought to *London*, and upon Examination at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, confeſſed ſome things about the King's Journey from *Oxford*. Commiſſioners being appointed by the Parliament to be ſent down to the Scots Army in this Conjuncture, they made choice of two Lords, of whom the Earl of *Pembroke* was one, and four of the Commons; in which number Col. *Brown* the Woodmonger being nominated to that Imployment, he turned about to me, who ſat behind him in the Houſe, aſſuring me that he would be ever true to us: And truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the War in *Smithfield* buying Horſes for the Service of the Parliament, where he ſpoke very affectionately concerning their Undertaking, and ſerved them afterwards very ſucceſsfully,

especially at *Abingdon*, as I mentioned before; but this wretched Man soon discovered the Corruption of his Nature, and Malignity that lay concealed in his Heart: for no sooner had the King found out his ambitious Temper, and cast some slight Favours upon him, giving him a Pair of Silk Stockings with his own Hand, but his low and abject Original and Education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an Agent and Spy for the King, proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest Butchers of the Parliament's Friends.

The Scots having the King in their Power, pressed him to write to the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant in *Ireland*, and to the Governours and Commanders of Places that remained in Arms for him, to lay down their Arms, and to deliver the said Places to such as the Parliament of *England* should appoint to receive them, acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this Necessity, he sent Orders to that effect, which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a Force. Amongst those who yielded Obedience to the King's Orders, was *Montross*, who disbanded the Forces he had left, and went beyond Sea. The City of *Oxford* having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther Obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of Compositions for their Estates, the most considerable of the King's Party being

 there.

there. Commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides to treat, and came to an Agreement on the 22*d* of *June*, 1646. upon ſuch Terms as the Parliament were unwilling to confirm; but whilſt they were in Debate concerning the Articles, they underſtood that Prince *Rupert* and others of the King's Party were marched out of the Town in purſuance of them; and that the Gariſon would be entirely evacuated before they could ſignify their Pleaſure to the Army. Wherefore tho they did not approve the Conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in order to break them. The principal Reaſon given by the Army of their proceeding ſo haſtily to a Concluſion of the Treaty, was, leſt the King ſhould make Terms with the Scots, and bring their Army to the Relief of *Oxford*. *Farringdon*-houſe, *Wallingford*-Caſtle, and *Woodſtock*, were ſurrendred to the Parliament; *Worceſter* and *Litchfield* ſoon after, as alſo *Pendennis* and *Ragland*-Caſtle.

The Scots by their Commiſſioners preſſed the Parliament to ſend Propoſitions of Peace to the King, wherein they were ſeconded by an inſolent Addreſs from the Mayor and Common-Council of the City of *London*; in which after ſome Acknowledgments of the Care and Courage of the Parliament in the Reformation of the Church, and Preſervation of the Laws, they deſired of them, that ſuch Aſſemblies as were privately held to introduce new Sects might be ſuppreſſed, leſt they ſhould breed

Disturbances in Church and State; that they would hasten the Establishment of Peace in the three Kingdoms; that they would consider the great Services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of *Independents* from all Imployments Civil and Military, esteeming them to be Firebrands that might endanger the Publick Peace, with other Particulars of the same nature. The Answer of the Parliament to the said Address was not much to the Satisfaction of the Petitioners, being a positive Declaration that they resolved to preserve their Authority entire to themselves. There was a Party in the House of the same Temper with the Addressers, who earnestly endeavoured to break the Army, as the principal Obstacle to their Designs, pretending the necessity of relieving *Ireland*, the Loss of which they said would be infinitely prejudicial to *England*; and that the way to prevent it was to send thither some part of the Army, who being united in Affection, and of great Reputation both for Courage and Conduct, would strike a Terror into the Enemy, and undoubtedly accomplish that important Work; not forgetting to urge that the People of *England* were not able to bear their present Burdens, and therefore must be eased. To these Pretences it was replied, That it could not consist with the Honour or Safety of the Parliament to lessen their Forces, whilst they had an Army of another Nation in their Bowels; who tho they were

united in the ſame Cauſe and Intereſt with us, yet the beſt way to continue them ſo, was to be in ſuch a Poſture as might ſecure us from any fear of their breaking with us; and that the more Reputation the Army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long Debate, the Queſtion was put; Whether two Regiments of the Army ſhould be ſent to the Relief of *Ireland?* and it was carried in the Negative by one Voice only.

The Commonwealth-Party taking Advantage of the Arguments uſed in the Houſe for the Relief of *Ireland*, and Eaſe of the People of *England*, procured an Order for the disbanding of Col. *Maſſey*'s Brigade, and Money to be ſent to the *Devizes* in the County of *Wilts*, where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpoſe. Alderman *Allen* and my ſelf, who ſerved for that County, were commiſſionated to ſee it put in execution: In order to which we repaired to the Lord General, who lay then at *Cornbury*, and prevailed with him and Commiſſary General *Ireton*, with two Regiments of Horſe, to draw to the *Devizes*, which we found to be very neceſſary: for tho many of that Brigade were glad of the Opportunity to return home to their ſeveral Callings, having taken up Arms, and hazarded their Lives purely to ſerve the Publick; yet divers idle and debauched Perſons, eſpecially the Foreigners, amongſt them, not knowing how to betake themſelves to any honeſt Employment,

endeavoured to ſtir up the Brigade to a Mutiny; but not being able to effect that, ſome of them liſted themſelves to ſerve againſt the Rebels in *Ireland* under Sir *William Fenton*, and others there preſent to receive them, for which we had Inſtructions from the Parliament; the reſt diſperſed themſelves, and returned home. The Forces alſo that ſerved in the North under Major General *Pointz* were ſoon after diſbanded.

The City of *London* had made it their Requeſt in the Petition before-mentioned, that ſome Commiſſioners from them might accompany thoſe from the Parliament to the King; but their own Party in the Houſe fearing perhaps to be outbid by them, or it may be not having quite loſt all Senſe of Honour, rejected that Motion with Contempt, alledging that they had their Repreſentatives in Parliament, and were concluded by what they acted as well as other Men: upon which Mr. *Martin* ſaid, That tho he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their Repreſentatives did, and their not ſending Commiſſioners as deſired; yet as to the Subſtance of what they propoſed, he could not ſo much blame them as others had done, they therein ſhewing themſelves in the end of the War no leſs prudent than they had expreſſed themſelves honeſt in the beginning: for as when the Parliament invited them to ſtand by them in the War againſt the King, in Defence of

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their Religion, Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, they did it heartily, and therein ſhewed themſelves good Chriſtians and true Engliſh-men; ſo now the War being ended, and the Parliament upon making Terms with the King, and thinking fit to ſue to him, now their Priſoner, for Peace, whom they had all incenſed by their Reſiſtance, the Citizens having conſiderable Eſtates to loſe, ſhewed themſelves prudent Men, in endeavouring to procure their Pardons as well as others: And tho, ſaid he, you will not permit them to ſend as they deſire, they have expreſſed their good Will, which without doubt will be well accepted. The Commiſſioners of Parliament joining with thoſe who were before with the King, endeavoured to perſwade him to agree to the Propoſitions of the Parliament; but he diſliking ſeveral things in them, and moſt of all the abolition of Epiſcopacy, to which Intereſt he continued obſtinately ſtedfaſt, refuſed his Conſent, upon private Encouragement from ſome of the Scots and Engliſh, to expect more eaſy Terms, or to be received without any at all. The Parliament willing to bring this Matter to a Concluſion, ſent the ſame Propoſitions a ſecond time to the King, and deſired the Scots to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to procure his Conſent to them. The Scots Commiſſioners, eſpecially the Lord *Loudon*, preſſed the King very earneſtly to comply with them, telling him, that tho the Propoſitions were higher in ſome Particulars than they

could have wiſhed, notwithſtanding their Endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their Promiſes; yet if he continued to reject them, he muſt not expect to be received in *Scotland*, whither they muſt return; and upon his refuſal of the Conditions offered, deliver him up to the Parliament of *England*. But whatſoever they or the Engliſh could ſay, making no Impreſſion upon the King, the Parliament's Commiſſioners returned with a Negative from him.

The Interpoſition of the Scots in this Affair proving ineffectual, the War being at an end, and ſuch conſiderable Forces altogether unneceſſary, the Parliament appointed Commiſſioners to confer with thoſe of *Scotland* concerning ſuch things as remained to be performed by the Treaty between them; that the fraternal Union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own Country. In order to which the Accounts of their Army were adjuſted, and a great Sum of Money agreed to be paid to them at the preſent, and other Sums upon certain days, to their full Satisfaction. Major General *Skippon*, with a conſiderable Body of Men, carried down the Money *in ſpecie* for the Paiment of the Scots Army; which being received by them, they delivered the King into the hands of the Parliament's Commiſſioners that attended him there, and began their March for *Scotland*; having delivered *Newcaſtle* to the Engliſh, and drawn their Men out of *Berwick*

and

and *Carliſle*, which two Places were agreed not to be gariſoned without the Conſent of both Kingdoms.

About this time the Earl of *Eſſex* having overheated himſelf in the Chace of a Stag in *Windſor* Foreſt, departed this Life: His Death was a great Loſs to thoſe of his Party, who to keep up their Spirits and Credit procured his Funeral to be celebrated with great Magnificence at the Charge of the Publick, the Lords and Commons with a great number of Officers and Gentlemen accompanying him to the Grave. In the mean time I obſerved that another Party was not idle; for walking one Morning with Lieutenant General *Cromwell* in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Garden, he inveighed bitterly againſt them, ſaying in a familiar way to me; *If thy Father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve:* adding farther, *That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a Parliament, to whom let a Man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical Fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off. Whereas*, ſaid he, *when one ſerves under a General, he may do as much Service, and yet be free from all Blame and Envy.* This Text, together with the Comment that his after-Actions put upon it, hath ſince perſwaded me, that he had already conceived the Deſign of deſtroying the Civil Authority, and ſetting up of himſelf; and that he took that Opportunity to feel my Pulſe, whether I were a fit Inſtrument to be employed by him to thoſe ends.

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But having replied to his Discourse, that we ought to perform the Duty of our Stations, and trust God with our Honour, Power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such Considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our Duty, I never heard any more from him upon that point.

Whilst the King was at *Newcastle*, the President *de Bellievre* came over into *England* in the Quality of an Ambassador from the French King, with Orders to endeavour a Reconciliation between the King and the Parliament. He had a favourable Audience from the Two Houses, and their Permission to apply himself to the King; but being on his way towards him, upon farther Debate, they judged it not fit to subject that Affair to the Cognizance of any Foreign Prince, resolving to determine it themselves without the Interposition of any, having experienced, that most of the neighbouring States, especially the Monarchical, were at the bottom their Enemies, and their Ambassadors and Residents so many Spies upon them, as appeared more particularly by Letters taken in the King's Cabinet after the Battel of *Naseby*, which discovered that the Emperor's Resident in *London* held a private Correspondence with the King, and there was ground to believe that the Ambassador of *Portugal* did the like, from Letters therein found from that King. These Applications to the King, together with the Permission granted by the Parliament to the

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Turky Company, to addreſs themſelves to him, for the commiſſionating of one whom they had nominated to be their Agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwiſe be received: To which may be added the frequent Overtures of Peace made by the Parliament to the King, tho he had not a Sword left wherewith to oppoſe them; and the great Expectations of the People of his Return to the Parliament, being informed that the Heads of the Presbyterian Party had promiſed the Scots, upon the Delivery of the King, that as ſoon as they had disbanded the Army, they would bring him to *London* in Honour and Safety: theſe things, I ſay, made the People ready to conclude, that tho his Deſigns had been wonderfully defeated, his Armies beaten out of the Field, and himſelf delivered into the Hands of the Parliament, againſt whom he had made a long and bloody War; yet certainly he muſt be in the right; and that tho he was guilty of the Blood of many thouſands, yet was ſtill unaccountable, in a condition to give Pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all Parts to ſee him as he was brought from *Newcaſtle* to *Holmby*, falling down before him, bringing their Sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to reſtore to them their Peace and Settlement.

The Party in the Houſe that were betraying the Cauſe of their Country, became Encouragers of ſuch Petitioners as came to them from

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the City of *London*, and other Places, to that effect; very many of whom had been always for the King's Intereſt, but their Eſtates lying in the Parliament's Quarters, they ſecured them by their Preſence in the Houſe, and at the ſame time promoted his Deſigns by their Votes. There was another ſort of Men who were contented to ſacrifice all Civil Liberties to the Ambition of the Presbyterian Clergy, and to veſt them with a Power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the Biſhops before. To this end they encouraged the reduced Officers of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſuch as *Maſſey*, *Waller*, *Pointz*, and others, to preſs the Parliament for their Arrears in a peremptory and ſeditious manner, that being furniſhed with Money they might be enabled to ſtand by theſe their Patrons in whatſoever Deſign they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the diſbanding of the Army, which they ſo much deſired, they reſolved to draw off a conſiderable part of them for the Service of *Ireland*; and to render the Work more acceptable, voted Major General *Skippon* to command them; joining the Earl of *Warwick* and Sir *William Waller* in Commiſſion with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to draw out ſuch Forces as were willing to go, to continue ſuch as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the Security of this Nation, and to disband the reſt. The Army being well informed of the Deſign, begun to conſult how to prevent it; and tho many of the Officers were prevailed with to engage

engage by Advancements to higher Commands, yet the major part abſolutely refuſed. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament having done what they could in proſecution of their Inſtructions, ordered thoſe who had engaged in the Iriſh Service to draw off from the Army, which then lay at *Saffron Walden*, and about *Newmarket*, and to be quartered in the way to *Ireland*; which done, they returned to *London* with an Account of their Proceedings.

The Parliament being informed of what paſſed, were highly diſpleaſed with the Carriage of the Army; but the Prudence and Moderation of Major General *Skippon*, in his Report of that Matter to the Houſe, much abated the heat of their Reſentment: Yet ſome menacing Expreſſions falling from ſome of them, Lieutenant General *Cromwell* took the occaſion to whiſper me in the Ear, ſaying, *Theſe Men will never leave till the Army pull them out by the Ears:* Which Expreſſion I ſhould have reſented, if the ſtate of our Affairs would have permitted. In this Conjuncture five Regiments of Horſe choſe their Agitators, who agreed upon a Petition to the Parliament, to deſire of them to proceed to ſettle the Affairs of the Kingdom, to provide for the Arrears of the Army, and to declare that they would not diſband any of them till theſe things were done; deputing *William Allen*, afterwards known by the addition of Adjutant General, *Edward Sexby*, afterwards Col. *Sexby*, and one *Philips*, to preſent

preſent it, which they did accordingly at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. After the reading of the Petition, ſome of the Members moved that the Meſſengers might be committed to the Tower, and the Petition declared ſeditious; but the Houſe after a long Debate ſatisfied themſelves to declare, That it did not belong to the Souldiery to meddle with Civil Affairs, nor to prepare or preſent any Petition to the Parliament without the Advice and Conſent of their General, to whom they ordered a Letter to be ſent to deſire for the future his Care therein; with which acquainting the three Agents, and requiring their Conformity thereunto, they diſmiſſed them. But this not ſatisfying, another Petition was carried on throughout the Army much to the ſame effect, only they obſerved the Order of the Parliament in directing it to their General, deſiring him to preſent it. The Houſe having notice of this Combination againſt them from Col. *Edward Harley*, one of their Members, who had a Regiment in the Army, expreſſed themſelves highly diſſatisfied therewith, and ſome of them moved that the Petitioners might be declared Traitors, alledging that they were Servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting, who reſolved the ſecuring of Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, ſuſpecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this Deſign; but he being advertiſed of it, went that Afternoon towards the Army, ſo that they miſſed of him, and

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were not willing to ſhew their Teeth ſince they could do no more. The Debate continued till late in the Night, and the Senſe of the Houſe was, that they ſhould be required to forbear the proſecution of the ſaid Petition; but when the Houſe, wearied with long ſitting, was grown thin, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, taking that opportunity, drew up a Reſolution upon his Knee, declaring the Petition to be ſeditious, and thoſe Traitors who ſhould endeavour to promote it after ſuch a day, and promiſing Pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they ſhould deſiſt by the time limited. Some of us fearing the Conſequence of theſe Diviſions, expreſſed our Diſſatisfaction to it, and went out; which gave them occaſion to paſs two or three very ſharp Votes againſt the Proceedings of the Army. The Agitators of the Army ſenſible of their Condition, and knowing that they muſt fall under the Mercy of the Parliament, unleſs they could ſecure themſelves from their Power by proſecuting what they had begun; and fearing that thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves ſo forward to cloſe with the King, out of Principle, upon any Terms, would now for their own Preſervation receive him without any, or rather put themſelves under his Protection, that they might the better ſubdue the Army, and reduce them to Obedience by Force, ſent a Party of Horſe under the Command of Cornet *Joyce*, on the *4th* of *June*, 1647. with an Order in Writing to take the King out of the Hands

Hands of the Commiſſioners of Parliament. The Cornet having placed Guards about *Holmby-houſe*, ſent to acquaint the King with the occaſion of his Coming, and was admitted into his Bed-chamber, where upon Promiſe that the King ſhould be uſed civilly, and have his Servants and other Conveniences continued to him, he obtained his Conſent to go with him. But whilſt Cornet *Joyce* was giving Orders concerning the King's Removal, the Parliament's Commiſſioners took that occaſion to diſcourſe with the King, and perſwaded him to alter his Reſolution: which *Joyce* perceiving at his Return, put the King in mind of his Promiſe, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his Orders; whereupon the King told him, that ſince he had paſſed his Word, he would go with him; and to that end deſcending the Stairs to take Horſe, the Commiſſioners of the Parliament being with him, Col. *Brown* and Mr. *Crew*, who were two of them, publickly declared, that the King was forced out of their hands; and ſo returned, with an account of what had been done, to the Parliament.

The King's Officers who waited on him were continued; and the chief Officers of the Army began publickly to own the Deſign, pretending thereby to keep the private Souldiers, for they would no longer be called Common Souldiers, from running into greater Extravagancies and Diſorders. Col. *Francis Ruſſell* and others, attending on the King, became ſoon converted by the

the Splendor of his Majesty; and Sir *Robert Pye*, a Colonel in the Army, supplied the Place of a Querry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: so that the King began to promise to himself that his Condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the Independent Interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it could subsist under any Form, which the other could not do, and therefore largely promised Liberty to the Independent Party, being fully perswaded how naturally his Power would revive upon his Restitution to the Throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such Promises and Engagements upon pretence that he was under a Force. The principal Officers of the Army made it so much their business to get the good Opinion of the King, that *Whalley* being sent from them with Orders to use all means but Constraint to cause him to return to *Holmby*; and the King refusing, *Whalley* was contented to bring him to the Army. Yet in the mean time a Charge of High Treason was drawn up by the Army against eleven Members of the House of Commons, who were Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapylton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Walter Long*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Edward Harly*, Commissary *Copley*, Col. *Massey*, and Sir *John Maynard*, for betraying the Cause of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the Army, with other Particulars.

This Charge they accompanied with a Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſons of what they had done, affirming that they were obliged by their Duty ſo to do, as they tendred the preſervation of the publick Cauſe, and ſecuring the good People of *England* from being a Prey to their Enemies. The great end of this Charge of Treaſon being rather to keep theſe Members from uſing their Power with the Parliament in oppoſition to the Proceedings of the Army, than from any Deſign to proceed capitally againſt them, they reſolved rather to withdraw themſelves voluntarily, than to put the Parliament or Army to any farther Trouble, or their Perſons to any more Hazard. By theſe means the Army, in which there were too many who had no other Deſign but the Advancement of themſelves, having made the Parliament, the Scots, and the City of *London* their Enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their Conceſſions to the King, giving his Chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilſt this Deſign was on foot, I went down to their Quarters at *Maidenhead*, to viſit the Officers; where Commiſſary General *Ireton* ſuſpecting that theſe things might occaſion Jealouſies of them in me and others of their Friends in Parliament, deſired me to be aſſured of their ſtedfaſt Adherence to the Publick Intereſt, and that they intended only to diſpenſe with ſuch things as were not material, in order to quiet the reſt-

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leſs Spirits of the Cavaliers, till they could put themſelves into a condition of ſerving the People effectually. I could not approve of their Practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, *that the Intentions of the Officers and Souldiers in the Army, were to eſtabliſh his Majeſty in his juſt Rights.* The News of this being brought to the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, who were in *France*, they diſpatched Sir *Edward Ford*, Brother-in-law to Commiſſary General *Ireton*, into *England*, to ſound the Deſigns of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between the King and them. Soon after which Mr. *John Denham* was ſent over on the like Errand. Sir *John Barkley* alſo upon his Return to the Queen from *Holland*, where he had been ordered to condole the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, came into *England* by the ſame Order, and to the ſame Purpoſe. It was in his Inſtructions to endeavour to procure a Paſs for Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, to come over to aſſiſt him in his Negotiation; which, with many other Particulars relating to this Buſineſs, I have ſeen in a Manuſcript written by Sir *John Barkley* himſelf, and left in the Hands of a Merchant at *Geneva*. Being at *Diepe* in order to embark for *England*, he met with Mr. *William Leg*, who was of the Bed-chamber to the King; and they two came over together into *England*. They landed at *Haſtings*, and being on their way towards *London*, were met by Sir *Allen Appeſley*, who had

been Lieutenant Governour to Sir *John Barkley* at *Exeter*, by whom he underſtood that he was ſent to him from *Cromwell* and ſome other Officers of the Army, with Letters and a Cypher, as alſo particular Inſtructions to deſire Sir *John Barkley* to remember his own Diſcourſe at a Conference with Col. *Lambert* and other Officers upon the Surrender of *Exeter*, wherein he had taken notice of the bitter Invectives of thoſe of the Army againſt the King's Perſon; and preſuming that ſuch Diſcourſes were encouraged in order to prepare Mens Minds to receive an Alteration of the Government, had ſaid, that it was not only a moſt wicked but difficult Undertaking, if not impoſſible, for a few Men, not of the greateſt Quality, to introduce a Popular Government againſt the King, the Preſbyterians, the Nobility, Gentry, and the Genius of the Nation, accuſtomed for ſo many Ages to a Monarchical Government; adviſing, that ſince the Presbyterians, who had begun the War upon divers ſpecious Pretences, were diſcovered to have ſought their own Advantages, by which means they had loſt almoſt all their Power and Credit; the Independent Party, who had no particular Obligations to the Crown, as many of the Presbyterians had, would make good what the Presbytery had only pretended to, and reſtore the King and People to their juſt and antient Rights; to which they were obliged both by Prudence and Intereſt, there being no means under Heaven

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more likely to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to obtain as much Truſt and Power as Subjects are capable of: whereas if they aimed at more, it would be accompanied with a general Hatred, and their own Deſtruction. He had Orders alſo to let him know, that tho to this Diſcourſe of his they then gave only the hearing, yet they had ſince found by Experience, that all, or the moſt part of it was reaſonable, and that they were reſolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already paſſed: deſiring that he would preſent them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them abſolutely, but to ſuſpend their Opinions of them, and their Intentions, till their future Behaviour had made full Proof of their Innocence, whereof they had already given ſome Teſtimonies to the World; and that when he had done this Office, he would return to *England*, and be an Eye-witneſs of their Proceedings. Thus did the Army-Party endeavour to fortify their Intereſt againſt the Presbyterians, who tho they were very much weakned by the Abſence of the eleven Members, yet not to be altogether wanting to themſelves, paſſed a Vote, that the King ſhould be brought to *Richmond*, whither he was inclined to go, having conceived a Diſtruſt of the Army, grounded chiefly upon the Refuſal of the Officers to receive any Honours or Advantages from him; and would not be diſſwaded from this Reſolution, till the Army had

obliged the Parliament to recal their Vote. After which he insisted upon going to *Windsor*, much against the Sense of the Army, and could not be prevailed with to pass by the Army in his way thither. This caused them to suspect that he hearkned to some secret Propositions from the Presbyterians, and designed to make an absolute Breach between the Parliament and the Army, which Commissary General *Ireton* discerning, said these Words to him; *Sir, you have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be so between You and the Parliament.* But the King finding himself courted on all hands, became so confident of his own Interest, as to think himself able to turn the Scale to what side soever he pleased. In this Temper Sir *John Barkley* found him when he delivered the Queen's Letters to him, which he did, after leave obtained from *Cromwell*, and a Confirmation received from his own Mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir *Allen Appesley*, with this Addition, that he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and Estate quietly, unless the King had his Rights, which he said they had already declared to the World in general Terms, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprize the several Interests of the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir *John Barkley* endeavoured to perswade the King, that it was necessary

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for him, who was now in the Power of the Army, to diſſemble with them, and propoſed that Mr. *Peters* might preach before him, that he would converſe freely with others of the Army, and gain the good Opinion of the Agitators, whoſe Intereſt he perceived to be very great amongſt them. But this Advice made no Impreſſion upon the King. He gave him alſo a relation of what had formerly paſſed between himſelf and *Cromwell*, whom he met near *Cauſum*, when the Head-quarters were at *Reading*, where *Cromwell* told him, that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt Sight that ever his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview between the King and his Children; that he wept plentifully at the Remembrance thereof, ſaying, that never Man was ſo abuſed as he in his ſiniſter Opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the moſt upright and conſcientious of his Kingdom: that they of the Independent Party had infinite Obligations to him, for not conſenting to the Propoſitions ſent to him at *Newcaſtle*, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majeſty's Intereſt ſeemed to invite him to; concluding with this Wiſh, *that God would be pleaſed to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King.* With this relation the King was no more moved than with the reſt, firmly believing ſuch Expreſſions to proceed from a neceſſity that *Cromwell* and the Army had of him, without whom, he ſaid, they could do nothing. And indeed the King

was not without reaſon of that Opinion; for ſome of the principal Agitators, with whom Sir *John Barkley* converſed at *Reading*, expreſſing to him their Jealouſy that *Cromwell* was not ſincere for the King, deſired of him, that if he found him falſe, to acquaint them with it, promiſing that they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his Will. Major *Huntington*, a Creature of *Cromwell*, and therefore entruſted by him to command the Guard about the King, either believing him to be in earneſt in his Pretenſions to ſerve the King, or elſe finding the King's Affairs in a riſing Condition, became one of his Confidents, and by Order of the King brought two General Officers to Sir *John Barkley*, recommending them to him as Perſons upon whom he might rely: theſe two had frequent Conferences with Sir *John Barkley*, and aſſured him, that a Conjunction with the King was univerſally deſired by the Officers and Agitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were great Diſſemblers if they were not real in it; but that the Army was ſo bent upon it at preſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves otherwiſe; proteſting that however things might happen to change, and whatſoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the King. They acquainted him alſo, that Propoſals were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein Epiſcopacy was not required to be aboliſhed, nor any of the King's Party wholly ruined, nor the Militia to be taken

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away from the Crown; adviſing that the King would with all Expedition agree to them, there being no Aſſurance of the Army, which they had obſerved already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to Commiſſary General *Ireton*, with whom he continued all Night debating upon the Propoſals before-mentioned, altering two of the Articles, as he ſaith himſelf in the Manuſcript, in the moſt material Points; but upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the Excluſion of ſeven Perſons, not mentioned in the Papers, from Pardon, and the admiſſion of the King's Party to ſit in the next Parliament, *Ireton* told him, that there muſt be a Diſtinction made between the Conquerors and thoſe that had been beaten, and that he himſelf ſhould be afraid of a Parliament where the King's Party had the major Vote: In Concluſion, conjuring Sir *John Barkley*, as he tendred the King's Welfare, to endeavour to procure his Conſent to the Propoſals, that they might with more Confidence be offered to the Parliament, and all Differences accommodated. *Cromwell* appeared in all his Conferences with Sir *John Barkley* moſt zealous for a ſpeedy Agreement with the King, inſomuch that he ſometimes complained of his Son *Ireton*'s Slowneſs in perfecting the Propoſals, and his Unwillingneſs to come up to his Majeſty's Senſe: at other times he would wiſh that Sir *John Barkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow Principles;

ciples; always affirming, that he doubted the Army would not perſiſt in their good Intentions towards the King.

During theſe Tranſactions the Army marched from about *Reading* to *Bedford*, and the King with his uſual Guard to *Woburn*, a Houſe belonging to the Earl of *Bedford*, where the Propoſals of the Army were brought to him to peruſe before they were offered to him in publick. He was much diſpleaſed with them in general, ſaying, That if they had any Intention to come to an Accommodation, they would not impoſe ſuch Conditions on him: to which Sir *John Barkley*, who brought them to him, anſwered, That he ſhould rather ſuſpect they deſigned to abuſe him, if they had demanded leſs, there being no appearance that Men, who had through ſo many Dangers and Difficulties acquired ſuch Advantages, would content themſelves with leſs than was contained in the ſaid Propoſals; and that a Crown ſo near loſt was never recovered ſo eaſily as this would be, if things were adjuſted upon theſe Terms. But the King being of another Opinion, replied, that they could not ſubſiſt without him, and that therefore he did not doubt to find them ſhortly willing to condeſcend farther, making his chief Objections againſt the three following Points: 1. The Excluſion of ſeven Perſons from Pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his Party from being elected Members of the next enſuing Parliament. 3. That there

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was nothing mentioned concerning Church-Government. To the firſt it was anſwered, That when the King and the Army were agreed, it would not be impoſſible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet when the King was reſtored to his Power, he might eaſily ſupply ſeven Perſons living beyond the Seas in ſuch a manner as to make their Baniſhment ſupportable. To the ſecond, That the next Parliament would be neceſſitated to lay great Burdens upon the People, and that it would be a Happineſs to the King's Party to have no hand therein. To the third, That the Law was Security enough for the Church, and that it was a great point gained, to reduce Men who had fought againſt it, to be wholly ſilent in the matter. But the King breaking away from them, ſaid, *Well, I ſhall ſee them glad e're long to accept of more equal Terms.*

About this time Mr. *Aſhburnham* arrived, to the King's great Contentment, and his Inſtructions referring to Sir *John Barkley*'s, which they were to proſecute jointly, Sir *John* gave him what light he could into the ſtate of Affairs: but he ſoon departed from the Methods propoſed by Sir *John Barkley*, and entirely complying with the King's Humour, declared openly, that having always uſed the beſt Company, he could not converſe with ſuch ſenſleſs Fellows as the Agitators; that if the Officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would

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be able to command their own Army, and that he was resolved to apply himself wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guard that waited on the King, and not long after a close Correspondence with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, Messages daily passing from the King to the Head-quarters. With these Encouragements and others from the Presbyterian Party, the Lord *Lauderdale* and divers of the City of *London* assuring the King, that they would oppose the Army to the Death, he seemed so much elevated, that when the Proposals were sent to him, and his Concurrence humbly desired, he, to the great Astonishment not only of *Ireton* and the Army, but even of his own Party, entertained them with very sharp and bitter Language, saying, That no Man should suffer for his sake; and that he repented him of nothing so much as that he passed the Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*: which tho it must be confessed to have been an unworthy Act in him, all things considered, yet was it no less imprudent in that manner, and at that time, to mention it; and that he would have the Church established according to Law by the Proposals. To which those of the Army replied, that it was not their Work to do it, and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point; and they hoped for the King too, he having already consented to the abolition of the Episcopal Government in *Scotland*.

land. The King ſaid, that he hoped God had forgiven him that Sin, repeating frequently theſe or the like words; *You cannot be without me*; *You will fall to Ruin if I do not ſuſtain you.* This manner of Carriage from the King being obſerved with the utmoſt Amazement by many Officers of the Army who were preſent, and at leaſt in appearance were Promoters of the Agreement, Sir *John Barkley* taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the King, and ſtepping to him, ſaid in his Ear, *Sir, you ſpeak as if you had ſome ſecret Strength and Power which I do not know of*; *and ſince you have concealed it from me, I wiſh you had done it from theſe Men alſo.* Whereupon the King began to recollect himſelf, and to ſoften his former Diſcourſe; but it was too late, for Col. *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army ſeemed the leaſt to deſire an Agreement, having obſerved theſe Paſſages, went out from the Conference, and haſtned to the Army, informing them what Entertainment their Commiſſioners and Propoſals had found with the King. Sir *John Barkley* being deſirous to allay this heat, demanded of *Ireton* and the reſt of the Officers what they would do if the King ſhould conſent: By whom it was anſwered, that they would offer them to the Parliament for their Approbation. The King having thus bid defiance to the Army, thought it neceſſary to bend all his Force againſt them, and eſpecially to ſtrengthen their Enemies in the Parliament. To this end a Petition

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was contrived to preſs them to a ſpeedy Agreement with the King, and preſented in a moſt tumultuous manner by great numbers of Apprentices and Rabble, back'd and encouraged by many diſmiſſed and diſaffected Officers who joined with them. Whilſt the Two Houſes were in Debate what Anſwer to give to this inſolent Multitude, ſome of them getting to the Windows of the Houſe of Lords, threw Stones in upon them, and threatned them with worſe Uſage, unleſs they gave them an Anſwer to their liking: Others knocked at the door of the Houſe of Commons, requiring to be admitted; but ſome of us with our Swords forced them to retire for the preſent; and the Houſe reſolved to riſe without giving any Anſwer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulſion. Whereupon the Speaker went out of the Houſe, but being in the Lobby, was forced back into the Chair by the Violence of the inſolent Rabble; whereof above a thouſand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the Houſe. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their Rage, and the Speaker demanding what Queſtion they deſired to be put, they anſwered, That the King ſhould be deſired to come to *London* forthwith: which Queſtion being put, they were asked again what further they would have; they ſaid, That he ſhould be invited to come with Honour, Freedom and Safety: to both which I gave a loud Negative, and ſome of the Members as loud

loud an Affirmative, rather out of a prudential Compliance than any Affection to the Design on foot. By these Votes, and the coming down of divers well-affected Citizens to appease them, the Tumult was somewhat allayed, and the Members of Parliament with their Speaker passed through the Multitude safely. The next Morning I advised with Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and others, what was fittest to be done in this Conjuncture; and it was concluded, that we could not sit in Parliament without apparent Hazard of our Lives, till we had a Guard for our Defence, it being manifestly the Design of the other Party either to drive us away, or to destroy us. Therefore we resolved to betake our selves to the Army for Protection, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* undertaking to perswade the Speaker to go thither, to which he consented with some Difficulty; and having caused a thousand Pounds to be thrown into his Coach, went down to the Army, which lay then at *Windsor*, *Maidenhead*, *Colebrook*, and the adjacent Places. Having acquainted as many of our Friends as I could, with our Resolution to repair to the Army, I went down; and the next day, being the same to which the Parliament had adjourned themselves, the Army rendezvouzed upon *Hownslow-heath*, where those Members of Parliament, as well Lords as Commons, who could not with Safety stay at *Westminster*, appeared in the Head of them, at which the Army expressed great Joy, declaring them-

themſelves reſolved to live and die with them. At night the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, and other Lords; the Speaker and Members of the Houſe of Commons aforeſaid, with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and many principal Officers of the Army, met at *Sion-houſe* to conſult what was moſt adviſable to do in that Juncture; which whilſt they were doing, an Account was brought of the Proceedings of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* that day, by the Serjeant of the Houſe, who came with his Mace, to the no little Satisfaction of the Speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining Members being met in the Houſe of Commons, had for ſome time attended the coming of their Speaker; but being informed that he was gone to the Army, they had made choice of one Mr. *Pelham* a Lawyer, and Member of the Houſe, to be their Speaker: After which they had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to join with the Directors of the Militia of *London*, in order to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the Parliament; the Succeſs of which Attempt they deſired to ſee before they would declare againſt the Army. To this end *Maſſey*, *Pointz*, *Brown*, and Sir *William Waller*, encouraged by the Common Council, and others, who by various Artifices had been corrupted, uſed all poſſible Diligence to liſt Men, and prepare a Force to oppoſe the Army; but their Proceedings therein were much obſtructed by divers honeſt Citizens, who

who importunately ſolicited them to treat with the Army, and alſo by the News of the General Rendezvouz upon *Hounſlow-heath*.

Tho the Lords had been removed from the Command of the Army, yet it was manifeſt that their Influence there ſtill continued; partly from a deſire of ſome great Officers to oblige them, and partly from the Ambition of others to be of their Number, who to ſhew their earneſt Deſires to ſerve the King, being morally aſſured the Parliament and City were likely to be ſhortly in the Power of the Army, who might be induced to take other Counſels in relation to the King, upon ſuch Succeſs, eſpecially conſidering his late Carriage towards them; they ſent an Expreſs to Sir *John Barkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, adviſing, that ſince the King would not yield to their Propoſals, that he would ſend a kind Letter to the Army, before it were known that *London* would ſubmit. Whereupon a Letter was prepared immediately; but the King would not ſign it, till after three or four Debates, which loſt one whole day's time: At laſt Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Barkley* going with it, met with Meſſengers from the Officers to haſten it. But before they could come to *Sion-houſe* the Commiſſioners from *London* were arrived, and the Letter out of ſeaſon. For coming after it was known with what Difficulty it had been obtained, and that Matters were like to be adjuſted between the Parliament and Army, it loſt both its Grace and Efficacy. Notwithſtanding all which

the Officers being resolved to do what they could, proposed, whilst the Army was in the very Act of giving Thanks for their Success, that they should not be too much elevated therewith, but keep still to their former Engagement to the King, and once more solemnly vote the Propositals, which was done accordingly.

The face of Affairs in the City was at this time very various, according to the different Advices they received; for upon the Report of the Advance of the Army, and the taking of some of their Scouts, they cried out, *Treat, Treat:* And at another time being informed that Men lifted in great numbers, the word was, *Live and die, Live and die:* but when *Southwark* had let in part of the Army, and joined with them, they returned to the former Cry of *Treat, Treat:* to which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council consenting, were ready to admit the Army as Friends, being not able to oppose them as Enemies, and afterwards to attend those Members who had retired to the Army, being in all about a hundred, to the Parliament. Having resumed our Places in the House, as many of the eleven Members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and *Pointz* with other reduced Officers, who had endeavoured to form a Body against the Army, fled. But we had other Difficulties to encounter: for tho that Vote by which the Petition of the Army was declared seditious, and those guilty of Treason, who

ſhould proſecute the ſame after ſuch a day, was razed out of the Journal; yet by reaſon that the bulk of the oppoſite Party was left ſtill in the Houſe, the Militia of *London* could not be changed without much Difficulty, and ſome other Votes of great Conſequence could not be altered at all. However the Parliament appointed a Committee to inquire into the late Force that was put upon them; who having made their Report, Sir *John Maynard* was impeached, and Recorder *Glyn*, with Mr. *Clement Walker* and others, impriſoned.

A day or two after the Reſtitution of the Parliament, the Army marched through the City without offering the leaſt Violence, promiſing to ſhew themſelves faithful to the Publick Intereſt; but their Actions furniſhed occaſion to ſuſpect them, particularly their diſcountenancing the Adjutators, who had endured the Heat of the day: the free Acceſs of all Cavaliers to the King at *Hampton-Court*, and the publick Speeches made for the King by the great Officers of the Army in a Council of War held at *Putney*, ſome of that Party taking the ſame liberty in the Houſe of Commons, where one of them publickly ſaid, That he thought God had hitherto blaſted our Counſels, becauſe we had dealt ſo ſeverely with the Cavaliers. Theſe things cauſed many in the Army who thought themſelves abuſed and cheated, to complain to the Council of Adjutators, againſt the Intimacy of Sir *John Barkley* and

Mr. *Aſhburnham* with the chief Officers of the Army, affirming, that the doors of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were open to them when they were ſhut to thoſe of the Army. *Cromwell* was much offended with theſe Diſcourſes, and acquainted the King's Party with them, telling Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Barkley*, that if he were an honeſt Man, he had ſaid enough of the Sincerity of his Intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendred the King's Service, not to come ſo frequently to his Quarters, but to ſend privately to him, the Suſpicion of him being grown ſo great, that he was afraid to lie in them himſelf. This had no effect upon Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who ſaid, that he muſt ſhew them the neceſſity of complying with the King, from their own Diſorders. About three Weeks after the Army entred *London*, the Scots prevailed with the Parliament to addreſs themſelves again to the King, which was performed in the old Propoſitions of *Newcaſtle*, ſome Particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The King adviſing with ſome about him concerning this Matter, it was concluded to be unſafe for him to cloſe with the Enemies of the Army whilſt he was in it. Whereupon the King refuſed the Articles, and deſired a Perſonal Treaty. The Officers of the Army having ſeen his Anſwer before it was ſent, ſeemed much ſatisfied with it, and promiſed to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to procure a Perſonal Treaty,

Cromwell, *Ireton*, and many of their Party in the Houſe preſſing the King's Deſires with great Earneſtneſs; wherein, contrary to their Expectations, they found a vigorous Oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceived a Jealouſy of their private Agreement with the King, and were now confirmed in that Opinion; and the Suſpicions of them grew to be ſo ſtrong, that they were accounted Betrayers of the Cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their Friends in the Parliament. The Army that lay then about *Putney* were no leſs diſſatisfied with their Conduct, of which they were daily informed by thoſe that came to them from *London*; ſo that the Adjutators began to change their Diſcourſe, and to complain openly in Council, both of the King and the Malignants about him, ſaying, that ſince the King had rejected their Propoſals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to conſult their own Safety and the Publick Good: that having the Power devolved upon them by the Deciſion of the Sword, to which both Parties had appealed, and being convinced that Monarchy was inconſiſtent with the Proſperity of the Nation, they reſolved to uſe their Endeavours to reduce the Government of *England* to the Form of a Commonwealth. Theſe Proceedings ſtrook ſo great a Terror into *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that they thought it neceſſary to draw the Army to a general Rendezvouz, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former Propoſals to the

King; but indeed to bring the Army into subjection to them and their Party, that so they might make their bargain by them; designing, if they could carry this point at the Rendezvouz, to dismiss the Council of Adjutators, to divide the Army, and to send those to the most remote Places who were most opposite to them, retaining near them such only as were fit for their purpose. This Design being discovered by the Adjutators, amongst whom Col. *Rainsborough* had the principal Interest, they used all possible Industry to prevent the general Muster which was appointed to be at *Ware*; supposing the Separation thereupon intended to be contrary to the Agreement made upon taking the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and destructive to the Ends which they thought it their Duty to promote.

In the mean time *Cromwell* having acquainted the King with his Danger, protesting to him, that it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he was, assuring him of his real Service, and desiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King, prepared himself to act his part at the General Rendezvouz. The King being doubtful what to do in this Conjuncture, was advised by some to go privately to *London*, and appear in the House of Lords: to which it was answered, That the Army being Masters of the City and Parliament, would undoubtedly seize the King there; and

and if there ſhould be any Blood ſhed in his Defence, he would be accuſed of beginning a new War. Others counſelled him to ſecure his Perſon by quitting the Kingdom. Againſt which the King objected, that the Rendezvouz being appointed for the next Week, he was not willing to quit the Army till that was paſſed; becauſe if the ſuperiour Officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their Engagement; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own Security. The Scots Commiſſioners alſo who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this Opportunity to perſwade him to come to their Terms, by augmenting his Fears as much as they could. It was alſo propoſed, that he ſhould conceal himſelf in *England*; but that was thought unſafe, if not impoſſible. Some there were who propoſed his going to *Jerſey*, which was then kept for him; but the King being told by the Earl of *Lanerick*, that the Ships provided by Sir *John Barkley* for that purpoſe had been diſcovered and ſeized, tho Sir *John* affirms in his Papers that none were provided, that Deſign was laid aſide. At laſt the King reſolved to go to the *Iſle of Wight*, being, as is moſt probable, recommended thither by *Cromwell*, who, as well as the King, had a good Opinion of Col. *Hammond* the Governour there. To this end the King ſent Mr. *William Leg* to Sir *John Barkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, requiring them to aſſiſt him in his Eſcape; and Horſes were laid at *Sut-*

ton in *Hampſhire* to that purpoſe. On the day following Sir *John Barkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* waiting with Horſes, the King with Mr. *Leg* came out towards the Evening, and being mounted they deſigned to ride through the Foreſt, having the King for their Guide; but they loſt the way; ſo that the Night proving dark and ſtormy, and the Ways very bad, they could not reach *Sutton* before break of day, tho they hoped to have been there three hours before. At *Sutton* they were informed that a Committee of the County was there ſitting by Order of the Parliament; which when the King heard, he paſſed by that Place, and continued his way towards *Southampton*, attended only by Mr. *Leg*, and went to a Houſe of the Earl of *Southampton* at *Titchfield*, having ſent Sir *John Barkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* to Col. *Hammond*, Governour of the *Iſle of Wight*, with a Copy of the Letter left upon the Table in his Chamber at *Hampton-Court*, and two other Letters which he had lately received, one of them without a Name, expreſſing great Fears and Apprehenſions of the ill Intentions of the Commonwealth-Party againſt the King. The other from *Cromwell*, much to the ſame purpoſe, with this Addition, that in proſecution thereof, a new Guard was deſigned the next day to be placed about the King, conſiſting of Men of that Party. He alſo ſent by them a Letter to Col. *Hammond*, wherein after he had expreſſed his Diſtruſt of the Levelling Part of

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the Army, as he termed it, and the neceſſity lying upon him to provide for his own Safety, he aſſured him, that he did not intend to deſert the Intereſt of the Army, ordering his two Meſſengers to acquaint him, that of all the Army the King had choſen to put himſelf upon him, whom he knew to be a Perſon of a good Extraction, and tho engaged againſt him in the War, yet without any Animoſity to his Perſon, to which he was informed he had no Averſion: that he did not think it fit to ſurprize him, and therefore had ſent the two Perſons before-mentioned to advertiſe him of his Intentions, and to deſire his Promiſe to protect the King and his Servants to the beſt of his Power; and if it ſhould happen that he was not able to do it, then to oblige himſelf to leave them in as good a Condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with theſe Inſtructions, Sir *John Barkley* ſaid to the King, that having no knowledg of the Governour, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the Iſland, and therefore adviſed, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but ſecure his own Eſcape. Towards Evening they arrived at *Limmington*, but could not paſs by reaſon of a violent Storm. The next Morning they got over to the Iſland, and went directly to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, the Reſidence of the Governour, where they were told that he was gone towards *Newport*. Upon this notice they rode after, and having overtaken and acquaint-

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ed him with their Meſſage, he grew pale, and fell into ſuch a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his Horſe. In this Conſternation he continued about an hour, breaking out ſometimes into paſſionate and diſtracted Expreſſions, ſaying, O Gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the King into the Iſland, if at leaſt you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come: for what between my Duty to the King, and Gratitude to him upon this freſh Obligation of Confidence, and the Diſcharge of my Truſt to the Army, I ſhall be confounded. Upon this they took occaſion to tell him, that the King intended a Favour to him and his Poſterity, in giving him this Opportunity to lay a great Obligation upon him, and ſuch as was very conſiſtent with his relation to the Army, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the King; but if he thought otherwiſe, the King would be far from impoſing his Perſon upon him: but, ſaid the Governour, if the King ſhould come to any Miſchance, what would the Army and the King ſay to him that had refuſed to receive him? To which they anſwered, that he had not refuſed him who was not come to him. Then beginning to ſpeak more calmly, he deſired to know where the King was, and wiſhed that he had abſolutely thrown himſelf upon him, which made the two Gentlemen ſuſpect that the Governour was not for their turn; but Mr. *Aſhburnham* fearing what would become of the

King

King if he ſhould be diſcovered before he had gained this point, took the Governour aſide, and after ſome Conference prevailed with him to declare, That he did believe the King relied on him as a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty, and therefore he did engage himſelf to perform whatſoever could be expected from a Perſon ſo qualified. Mr. *Aſhburnham* replied, I will ask no more: Then ſaid the Governour, Let us all go to the King, and acquaint him with it. When they came to *Cowes*-Caſtle, where a Boat lay to carry them over, Col. *Hammond* took Capt. *Basket* the Governour of that Caſtle with him, and gave order for a File or two of Muſqueteers to follow them in another Boat. When they came to the Earl of *Southampton*'s Houſe, Mr. *Aſhburnham* leaving Sir *John Barkley* below with Col. *Hammond* and Capt. *Basket*, went up to the King, and having given an Account of what had paſſed between the Governour and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promiſed; the King ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, ſaid, *What have you brought* Hammond *with you? O you have undone me; for I am by this means made faſt from ſtirring.* Mr. *Aſhburnham* then told him, that if he miſtruſted *Hammond*, he would undertake to ſecure him. To which the King replied, *I underſtand you well enough; but if I ſhould follow that Counſel, it would be ſaid and believed, that he ventured his Life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him:* Telling him fur-

further, *That it was now too late to think upon any thing but going through the way he had forced him upon, wondering how he could make so great an Oversight:* At which Expression Mr. *Ashburnham* having no more to say, wept bitterly. In the mean time Col. *Hammond* and Capt. *Basket* beginning to be impatient of their long Attendance below in the Court, Sir *John Barkley* sent a Gentleman of the Earl of *Southampton*'s, to desire that the King and Mr. *Ashburnham* would remember that they were below. About half an hour after the King sent for them up, and before Col. *Hammond* and Capt. *Basket* had kissed the King's Hand, he took Sir *John Barkley* aside, and said to him; *Sir* John, *I hope you are not so passionate as* Jack Ashburnham: *Do you think you have followed my Directions?* He answered, *No indeed; but it is not my Fault, as Mr.* Ashburnham *can tell you, if he please.* The King perceiving that it was now too late to take other measures, received Col. *Hammond* cheerfully, who having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to *Cowes*. The next Morning the King went with the Governour to *Carisbrook*, and on the way thither was met by divers Gentlemen of the Island, by whom he understood that the whole Island was unanimously for him, except the Governours of the Castles, and Col. *Hammond*'s Captains; that *Hammond* might be easily gained, if not more easily forced, the Castle being day and night full of the King's Party; and

and that the King might chuſe his own time of quitting the Iſland, having liberty to ride abroad daily: So that not only the King and thoſe that were with him, but alſo his whole Party, approved of the Choice which he had made. The King and Mr. *Aſhburnham* applied themſelves to the Governour with ſo good Succeſs, that he and thoſe with him ſeemed to deſire nothing more of the King than to ſend a civil Meſſage to both Houſes, ſignifying his Propenſity to Peace, which was done accordingly.

No ſooner was the King's Eſcape taken notice of by the Guards, but Col. *Whalley* haſtened to the Parliament with the Letter which the King had left upon his Table, ſhewing the Reaſons of his withdrawing, and his Reſolution not to deſert the Intereſt of the Army; and tho it was viſible that the King made his Eſcape by the Advice of *Cromwell*, and therefore in all appearance with the Conſent of *Whalley*, yet he pretended for his Excuſe to the Parliament, that Mr. *Aſhburnham* had broken his Engagement to him at his firſt coming to *Woburn*, whereby he had undertaken that the King ſhould not leave the Army without his Knowledg and Conſent. Upon this Advice the Parliament declared it Treaſon for any Perſon to conceal the King; but the manner of his Eſcape being ſoon after diſcovered, and that he had put himſelf into the hands of the Governour of the *Iſle of Wight*, they ſent a Meſſenger to the Iſland for Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Sir *John Barkley*,

ley, and Mr. *Leg*, but the Governour refuſed to deliver them.

The time for the General Rendezvouz of the Army being now come, the Commonwealth Party amongſt them declared to ſtand to their Engagement, not to be diſperſed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the Government of the Nation eſtabliſhed: to make good which Reſolution ſeveral Regiments appeared in the Field with diſtinguiſhing Marks in their Hats: But Lieutenant General *Cromwell* not contenting himſelf with his part in an equal Government, puffed up by his Succeſſes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the Grandees in the Houſe, either to comply with the King, or to ſettle things in a factious way without him, procured a Party to ſtand by him in the ſeizing ſome of thoſe who appeared at the Rendezvouz in oppoſition to his Deſigns. To this end, being accompanied with divers Officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his Creatures, he rode up to one of the Regiments which had the diſtinguiſhing Marks, requiring them to take them out, which they not doing, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized; and then their Hearts failing, they yielded Obedience to his Commands. He ordered one of them to be ſhot dead upon the place, delivering the reſt of thoſe whom he had ſeized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the Marſhal; and having diſperſed the Army to their Quar-

Quarters, went to give an account of his Proceedings to the Parliament: and tho when an Agreement with the King was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the Army in oppoſition to the Parliament; yet now the bargain for the Peoples Liberty being driven on by himſelf, he oppoſed thoſe who laboured to obſtruct it, pretending his ſo doing to be only in order to keep the Army in ſubjection to the Parliament; who being very deſirous to have this Spirit ſuppreſſed in the Army by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the Thanks of the Houſe for the ſame: Whereunto, tho ſingly, I gave as loud a *No* as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own Paſſion and Power into the room of Right and Reaſon; and took the firſt opportunity to tell him, that the Army having taken the Power into their hands, as in effect they had done, every drop of Blood ſhed in that extraordinary way would be required of them, unleſs the Rectitude of their Intentions and Actions did juſtify them, of which they had need to be very careful.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Earl of *Ormond* finding that the Iriſh uſed him treacherouſly, and that the Inclinations of his Army tended towards a Submiſſion to the Parliament of *England*, invited them to ſend Commiſſioners to treat about the Surrender of *Dublin*, and the Forces commanded by him, into their hands.

hands. Which was done, and Articles agreed upon, indemnifying all Proteſtants in *Ireland* for what they had done there, unleſs they had been in the Rebellion during the firſt Year; and admitting them to compound for their Eſtates in *England* at two Years Value. A certain Sum was alſo promiſed to be paid to the Earl of *Ormond*, in conſideration of what he had diſburſed for the Army. This Agreement being concluded, the City of *Dublin* and the Forces before-mentioned were delivered to Col. *Michael Jones*, who was ordered by the Parliament to receive the ſame; and the Earl of *Ormond* came to *London*, where his Money was paid him, and he ſoon after retired into *France*.

The chief Officers of the Army having ſubdued thoſe of their Body, who upon juſt Suſpicion had oppoſed their Treaty with the King, thought themſelves obliged by their former Engagement to preſs for a Perſonal Treaty with him, which they procured to be offered, in caſe he would grant four preliminary Bills: The firſt of which contained the Revocation of all Proclamations againſt the Parliament: The ſecond, to make void all ſuch Titles of Honour as had been granted by the King ſince he had left the Parliament; and that for the future none ſhould be conferred upon any Perſon without the Conſent of Parliament: The third was a Bill to except ſome Perſons from Pardon: And the fourth for inveſting the Militia in the Two Houſes. All which thoſe who thought it reaſonable

sonable and necessary to proceed judicially with him, were afraid he would grant; it being visible, that had he been restored to the Throne upon any Terms, he might easily have gratified his Friends, and revenged himself upon all his Enemies. Col. *Hammond* and Mr. *Ashburnham* had frequent Conferences with the King, who had made such Promises to the Colonel, that he declared himself extremely desirous that the Army might resume their Power, and clear themselves of the Adjutators, whose Authority he said he had never approved. To this end he sent one Mr. *Traughton* his Chaplain to the Army, to perswade them to make use of their Success against the Adjutators; and two or three days after earnestly moved the King to send some of those about him to the Army, with Letters of Compliment to the General, and others of greater Confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, promising to write to them himself, which he did; conjuring them by their Engagements, their Honour and Conscience, to come to a speedy Agreement with the King, and not to expose themselves to the Fantastick Giddiness of the Adjutators. Sir *John Barkley* was made choice of for this Employment, who taking Mr. *Henry Barkley* his Cousin German with him, departed from the Island with a Pass from the Governour of *Cowes*; and being on his way met Mr. *Traughton* on his Return between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, who acquainted him that he had no good News to

carry back to the King, the Army having taken new Resolutions touching his Person. Being gone a little farther he was met by Cornet *Joyce*, who told him, that he was astonished at his Design of going to the Army, acquainting him, that it had been debated amongst the Adjutators, whether, in justification of themselves, the King should be brought to a Trial; of which Opinion he declared himself to be, not out of any ill Will, as he said, to the King's Person, but that the Guilt of the War might be charged upon those that had caused it. About an hour after his Arrival at *Windsor*, Sir *John Barkley* went to the General's Quarters, where he found the Officers of the Army assembled; and being admitted, delivered his Letters to the General, who having received them, ordered him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he was called in again, and told by the General, with some Severity on his Face, that they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could say nothing to the King's Motion about Peace, but must refer those Matters, and the King's Letters, to their Consideration. Then Sir *John* looked upon *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the rest of his Acquaintance, who saluted him very coldly, shewing him *Hammond*'s Letter to them, and smiling with disdain upon it. Being thus disappointed, he went to his Lodging, and staid there from four till six of the Clock, without any Company, to his great Dissatisfaction.

At laſt he ſent out his Servant with Orders to find out if poſſible ſome of his Acquaintance, who met with one that was a General Officer, by whom he was ordered to tell his Maſter, that he would meet him at Midnight in a Cloſe behind the Garter-Inn. At the Time and Place appointed they met, where the Officer acquainted him in general, that he had no good News to communicate to him; and then deſcending to Particulars, ſaid, You know that I and my Friends engaged our ſelves to you; that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abuſed: That ſince the Tumults in the Army, we did miſtruſt *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our Engagement, to deſtroy the King and his Poſterity, to which end *Ireton* has made two Propoſitions this Afternoon: One, that you ſhould be ſent Priſoner to *London*: The other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of Death, and I do now hazard my Life by doing it. The way deſigned to ruin the King is to ſend eight hundred of the moſt diſaffected in the Army to ſecure his Perſon, and then to bring him to a Trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days, and therefore if the King can eſcape, let him do it, as he loves his Life. Sir *John* then asking the reaſon of this Change, ſeeing the King had done all things in compliance with

the Army, and that the Officers were become ſuperiour ſince the laſt Rendezvouz: he replied, that he could not certainly tell; but conceived the ground of it to be, that tho one of the Mutineers, as he call'd him, was ſhot to Death, eleven more made Priſoners, and the reſt in appearance over-aw'd, yet they were ſo far from being ſo indeed, that two thirds of the Army had been ſince with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to tell them, that tho they were certain to periſh in the Enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Senſe; and that if all failed, they would make a Diviſion in the Army, and join with any who would aſſiſt them in the Deſtruction of thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them. That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* argued thus: If the Army divide, the greateſt part will join with the Presbyters, and will in all likelihood prevail, to our Ruin, by forcing us to make our Applications to the King, wherein we ſhall rather beg than offer any Aſſiſtance; which if the King ſhall give, and afterwards have the good Fortune to prevail, if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promiſe to our ſelves: thereupon concluding, that if they could not bring the Army to their Senſe, that it was beſt to comply with them, a Schiſm being utterly deſtructive to both. In purſuance of this Reſolution *Cromwell* bent all his Thoughts to make his Peace with the Party that was moſt oppoſite

site to the King; acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on such occasions, that the Glory of this World had so dazled his Eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing. He sent also comfortable Messages to the Prisoners that he had seiz'd at the general Rendezvouz, with Assurances that nothing should be done to their Prejudice; and by these and the like Arts he perfected his Reconciliation. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that his Son *Ireton* never intended to close with the King, but only to lay his Party asleep, whilst they were contesting with the Presbyterian Interest in Parliament. And now having secured themselves of the City, and perswaded the King to deny the Propositions of the Parliament, subdued the Army, and freed themselves from the Importunity of the King and his Party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, since their Transactions with him had procured them so much Opposition, and to leave the Breach with him upon the Parliament; where they found the Presbyterian Party averse to an Agreement with him upon any Proposals of the Army, and the Commonwealth Party resolved not to treat with him upon any at all.

Sir *John Barkley* being return'd to his Lodging, dispatch'd his Cousin *Henry Barkley* to the Isle of *Wight* with two Letters; one to the Governour, containing a general Relation, and doubtful Judgment of things in the Army; another

nother in Cypher, with a particular account of the foreſaid Conference, and a moſt paſſionate Supplication to the King to meditate nothing but his immediate Eſcape. The next Morning he ſent Col. *Cooke* to *Cromwell*, to let him know that he had Letters and Inſtructions to him from the King, who returned in Anſwer by the Meſſenger, that he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be aſſured, that he would ſerve the King as long as he could do it without his own Ruin; but deſired that it might not be expected that he ſhould periſh for his ſake. Having received this Anſwer, Sir *John* took Horſe for *London*, reſolving not to acquaint any with the Inclinations of the Army, or with the King's pretended Eſcape, which he preſumed would be in a few days, the Queen having ſent a Ship to that purpoſe, and preſſed it earneſtly in her Letters. The next day after his Arrival at *London* he received a Meſſage from the Scots Lords *Lanerick* and *Lauderdale*, deſiring a Meeting with him, preſuming he had a Commiſſion from the King to treat: but he acquainting them that the King had ſaid at his parting from him, that he would make good whatſoever he ſhould undertake to any Perſon in his Name; the Lord *Lanerick* replied, he would ask no other Commiſſion from him. At their ſecond Meeting they came near to an Agreement, and reſolved to conclude on the Monday following; but the next day Sir *John Barkley* receiving a Letter from

Mr.

Mr. *Ashburnham*, requiring him in the King's Name to lay aside all other business, and to return immediately to the King, was constrained to go out of Town that Night, and to leave the Treaty unfinished, to the great Dissatisfaction of both Parties. At his return to the Island he found the King determined not to attempt his Escape till he had concluded with the Scots, who, he said, being very desirous to have him out of the hands of the Army, would on that account come to an Accommodation upon reasonable Conditions; whereas if he should leave the Army before any Agreement with the Scots, they would never treat with him but upon their own Terms. To this end the King ordered Sir *John Barkley*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Leg* to review the Papers relating to the Treaty with the Scots, which had been managed in *London* chiefly by Dr. *Gough* a Popish Priest, who in the Queen's Name had conjur'd the King to make his speedy Escape, and in his own beseeched him not to insist too nicely upon Terms in the present Exigency of his Affairs: but Mr. *Ashburnham* hesitated much upon many Expressions in the Articles relating to the Covenant and Church of *England*, of which he was a zealous Professor, making many Replies and Alterations; and at last insisted that the King would send for the Scots Commissioners to come to him. Accordingly Sir *William Flemming* was sent to that purpose; and the next day after an

Expreſs came from the ſaid Commiſſioners to the King, deſiring that two Papers might be drawn, the one to contain the leaſt he would be contented with, and the other the utmoſt that he would grant to the Scots; which laſt they deſired he would ſign, promiſing to do the like to the firſt, and to deliver it to Dr. *Gough* upon the reception of his Paper ſo ſigned. But this matter was delay'd ſo long, that they concluded the Scots Commiſſioners would be on their way before another Expreſs could be gone out of the Iſland. At the ſame time that the Scots were coming to the King, Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to him by the Parliament with offers of a Perſonal Treaty, on condition that the King in teſtimony of his future Sincerity, would grant the four Preliminary Bills formerly mentioned. Whilſt theſe two ſorts of Commiſſioners were one day attending the King as he walked about the Caſtle, they obſerved him to throw a Bone before two Spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in ſeeing them conteſting for it; which ſome of them thought to be intended by him to repreſent that Bone of Contention he had caſt between the two Parties. It was propoſed by ſome of his Party that the King ſhould give a dilatory Anſwer to the Scots, that he might have the better opportunity to eſcape; and at the ſame time it was moved that he ſhould offer the four following Bills to the Parliament, upon preſumption that they could not well refuſe them, nor

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durſt grant them: The firſt was for the Payment of the Army, and for their disbanding as ſoon as paid: The ſecond to put a Period to the preſent Parliament: The third to reſtore the King and Queen to the Poſſeſſion of their Revenues: The fourth to ſettle a Church-Government without any coercive Power; and till ſuch a Government were agreed on, the preſent to continue without any coercive Authority. This they adviſed upon apprehenſions, if the King ſhould give a poſitive Denial, that the Commiſſioners might have Orders to enjoin the Governour to keep a ſtricter Guard over his Perſon, and thereby his deſigned Eſcape be prevented. To this Advice the King replied, that he had found out a Remedy againſt their Fears; which was to deliver his Anſwer to the Commiſſioners ſealed up. The next day after the Engliſh Commiſſioners had delivered their Meſſage, and deſired the King's Anſwer within three or four days; the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, *Lowden*, *Lanerick*, *Lauderdale*, and others, delivered a Proteſtation to the King, ſubſcribed by them, againſt the Parliament's Meſſage, affirming it to be contrary to the Covenant, being ſent without their Participation or Conſent; and from this time began ſeriouſly to treat with the King, concluding at laſt upon ſuch Terms as they could obtain rather than ſuch as they deſired from him. When the time to receive the King's Anſwer was come, he ſent for the Engliſh Commiſſioners,

ners, and before he delivered his Anſwer, demanded of the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the Principal Commiſſioner, whether they had power to alter any of the ſubſtantial or circumſtantial Parts of the Meſſage; and they replying that they had not, he delivered his Anſwer ſealed up into the hands of the Earl of *Denbigh*. Having received the King's Anſwer, the Commiſſioners withdrew for a little time, and being returned, the Earl of *Denbigh* ſeem'd to be offended, that the King had delivered his Meſſage ſealed, alledging that they were required by their Inſtructions to bring his Anſwer, which whether his Letter were or no, they could not know, unleſs they might ſee it, ſaying that he had been his Ambaſſador, and in that Employment would never have delivered any Letter without a preceding ſight of it: The King told him that he had employ'd twenty Ambaſſadors, and that none of them had ever dared to open his Letters; but having demanded whether what the Earl of *Denbigh* had ſaid were the ſenſe of them all, and finding it ſo to be: Well then, ſaid the King, I will ſhew it to you on condition you will promiſe not to acquaint any one with the Subſtance of it, before you have delivered it to the Parliament; which they conſenting to, he deſired the Company might withdraw. The Commiſſioners propoſed that the Governour Col. *Hammond* might be permitted to ſtay; which the King being unwilling to allow, yet

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not thinking it convenient to refuſe, gave way to, and by this means the Governour as well as the Commiſſioners, came to underſtand that the King had waved the Intereſts both of the Parliament and Army, to cloſe with the Scots, the Subſtance of his Letter being an abſolute refuſal of his Conſent to the four Bills preſented to Him. The Impreſſion which the diſcovery of theſe things made upon the Governour was ſo great, that before he departed from *Carisbrook* to accompany the Parliament's Commiſſioners to *Newport*, he gave Orders for a ſtrict Guard to be kept in his Abſence; and at his return commanded the Gates to be lock'd up, and the Guards to be doubled, ſitting up himſelf with them all Night; whereby the King's intended Eſcape was obſtructed. The next Morning he ordered the King's Servants to remove, not excepting Dr. *Hammond* his own Kinſman, who taking leave of the King, acquainted him that they had left the Captain of the Frigat and two truſty Gentlemen of the Iſland to aſſiſt him in his Eſcape, aſſuring him that they would have all things in readineſs on the other ſide of the Water to receive him. At their Departure the King commanded them to draw up a Declaration, and ſend it to him the next Morning to ſign, which they did, and it was afterwards publiſhed in the King's Name. When they came to *Newport* one Capt. *Burleigh* cauſed a Drum to beat to draw People together in order to reſcue the King; but there were few,

few, beſides Women and Children, that followed him, having but one Muſquet amongſt them all, ſo that the King's Servants thought not fit to join with or encourage them; but went over to the other ſide, where they continued about three Weeks expecting the King's Arrival; leaving Capt. *Burleigh*, who with divers of his Followers was committed to Jail. Upon the return of the King's Negative to the four previous Bills before mentioned, the Parliament voted, *That no farther Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King by themſelves, or any other Perſon, without the leave of both Houſes; and that if any preſumed ſo to do, they ſhould incur the Guilt of High-Treaſon.* They alſo publiſh'd a Declaration, prepared by Colonel *Nathanael Fiennes*, ſhewing the Reaſons of their ſaid Reſolutions; wherein, amongſt other Miſcarriages of the King's Reign, was repreſented his breaking of Parliaments, the betraying of *Rochel*, his refuſal to ſuffer any Inquiry to be made into the Death of his Father, his levying War againſt the People of *England*, and his rejecting all reaſonable Offers of Accommodation after ſix ſeveral Applications to him on their part. Col. *Rainsborough* was appointed Admiral of the Fleet; and Mr. *Holland*, my ſelf, and another Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſent down to the head Quarters at *Windſor* with Orders to diſcharge from Cuſtody Capt. *Reynolds*, and ſome others called in deriſion *Levellers*, who had been impriſoned by the Army for

for attempting to bring about that which they themſelves were now doing, and to exhort the Officers to contribute the beſt of their Endeavours towards a ſpeedy Settlement.

The Scots in purſuance of their Treaty with the King, made what Preparations they could to raiſe an Army, wherein the Presbyterians and Cavaliers join'd, tho with different Deſigns. The ſame Spirit began to appear alſo in *England*, many of our Ships revolting to the King at the Inſtigation of one Capt. *Batten*, who had been Vice-Admiral to the Parliament, and others, encouraged by the City and the Presbyterian Party. The Seamen on board the Ship commanded by Col. *Rainsborough* refuſed to receive him, having before-hand ſecured one of my Brothers, with others whom they ſuſpected to be faithful to their Commander. The Earl of *Warwick*, as moſt acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to Obedience, by which means part of the Fleet was preſerved to the Parliament, who immediately iſſued out Orders for the fitting out of more Ships to reinforce them. With the revolted Ships Prince *Charles* block'd up the Mouth of the River; and about the ſame time his Brother the Duke of *York*, who upon the Surrender of *Oxford* had been brought by Order of the Parliament to St. *James*'s, and Proviſion made for him there, eſcaped from thence to ſerve the King's Deſigns. The Caſtles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* declar'd alſo for the King, and Col. *Rich* was

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ſent with a Party of the Army to reduce them. In the mean time Lieutenant General *Cromwell* not forgetting himſelf, procured a meeting of divers leading Men amongſt the Presbyterians and Independents, both Members of Parliament and Miniſters, at a Dinner in *Weſtminſter*, under pretence of endeavouring a Reconciliation between the two Parties: but he found it a Work too difficult for him to compoſe the Differences between theſe two Eccleſiaſtical Intereſts; one of which would endure no Superior, the other no Equal; ſo that this Meeting produced no Effect. Another Conference he contrived to be held in *King-ſtreet* between thoſe called the Grandees of the Houſe and Army, and the Commonwealths-Men; in which the Grandees, of whom Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was the Head, kept themſelves in the Clouds, and would not declare their Judgments either for a Monarchical, Ariſtocratical or Democratical Government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themſelves, or for us, according as Providence ſhould direct us. The Commonwealths-Men declared that Monarchy was neither good in ſelf, nor for us. That it was not deſirable in it ſelf, they urged from the 8*th* Chapter and 8*th* Verſe of the firſt Book of *Samuel*, where the rejecting of the Judges, and the choice of a King, was charged upon the *Iſraelites* by God himſelf as a Rejection of him; and from another Paſſage in the ſame Book, where *Samuel* declares it to be

a great Wickedneſs; with divers more Texts of Scripture to the ſame effect. And that it was no way conducing to the Intereſt of this Nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite Miſchiefs and Oppreſſions we had ſuffered under it, and by it: that indeed our Anceſtors had conſented to be governed by a ſingle Perſon, but with this Proviſo, that he ſhould govern according to the Direction of the Law, which he always bound himſelf by Oath to perform: that the King had broken this Oath, and thereby diſſolved our Allegiance; Protection and Obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the Sword for the Deciſion of the things in diſpute, and thereby cauſed the Effuſion of a Deluge of the Peoples Blood, it ſeemed to be a Duty incumbent upon the Repreſentatives of the People to call him to an account for the ſame; more eſpecially ſince the Controverſy was determined by the ſame means which he had choſen; and then to proceed to the Eſtabliſhment of an equal Commonwealth founded upon the Conſent of the People, and providing for the Rights and Liberties of all Men, that we might have the Hearts and Hands of the Nation to ſupport it, as being moſt juſt, and in all reſpects moſt conducing to the Happineſs and Proſperity thereof. Notwithſtanding what was ſaid, Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, not for want of Conviction, but in hopes to make a better Bargain with another Party, profeſſed himſelf unreſolved, and having

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learn'd what he could of the Principles and Inclinations of thoſe preſent at the Conference; took up a Cuſhion and flung it at my Head, and then ran down the Stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him haſten down faſter than he deſired. The next day paſſing by me in the Houſe, he told me he was convinced of the Deſirableneſs of what was propoſed, but not of the Feaſibleneſs of it; thereby, as I ſuppoſe, deſigning to encourage me to hope that he was inclined to join with us, tho unwilling to publiſh his Opinion, leſt the Grandees ſhould be informed of it, to whom I preſume he profeſſed himſelf to be of another Judgment.

Much time being ſpent ſince the Parliament had voted no more Addreſſes to be made to the King, nor any Meſſages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the King to a Trial, or the ſettling of Affairs without him; many of the People who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themſelves as far from a Settlement as ever, concluded that they ſhould never have it, nor any Eaſe from their Burdens and Taxes, without an Accommodation with the King; and therefore entred into a Combination through *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to reſtore him to his Authority. To this end Petitions were promoted throughout all Countries, the King by his Agents fomenting and encouraging this Spirit by all means poſſible, as appeared by his intercepted Letters;

ters: ſo that Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who had made it his uſual Practice to gratify Enemies even with the Oppreſſion of thoſe who were by Principle his Friends, began again to court the Commonwealth-Party, inviting ſome of them to confer with him at his Chamber: with which acquainting me the next time he came to the Houſe of Commons, I took the Freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole and give them good Words when he had occaſion to make uſe of them; whereat breaking out into a Rage, he ſaid, they were a proud ſort of People, and only conſiderable in their own Conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear Truth calumniated, and that tho the Commonwealths-men were fallen under his Diſpleaſure, I would take the liberty to ſay, that they had always been and ever would be conſiderable where there was not a total Defection from Honeſty, Generoſity, and all true Vertue, which I hoped was not yet our Caſe.

The Earl of *Warwick*, with the Fleet equipped for him by the Parliament, fell down the River towards the Ships commanded by Prince *Charles*, who preſuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay ſome time in expectation; but finding by the manner of his Approach that he was deceived in that Particular, he thought it convenient to make all the ſail he could for the Coaſt of Holland. Our Fleet followed him as far as the *Texel*; but according to the defenſive Prin-

ciple of the Nobility, our Admiral thinking he had sufficiently discharged his Duty by clearing the *Downs*, and driving the other Fleet from our Coast, declined to fight tho he had an opportunity to engage. *Deal* and *Sandown* Castles were reduced by Col. *Rich*, and many of our revolted Ships not finding things according to their Expectation, being constrained to serve under Prince *Rupert* instead of the Lord *Willoughby*, who they desired might command them, returned to the Obedience of the Parliament.

The Scots making all possible Preparations to raise an Army for the Restitution of the King, Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* went to *Scotland* to join with them in that Enterprize, and to draw what English they could to promote the Design. The first of these seized upon *Carlisle* by order of the Scots, tho contrary to their Articles; whereupon the Parliament thinking it necessary to provide for the Security of *Berwick*, placed a good Garison therein, and resolving to reinforce the Militia of each County, sent down some of their Members to give Life to the Preparations. Amongst others I was appointed to go down to the County for which I served, where we agreed to raise two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse. In the mean time the Enemy was not idle, and taking advantage of the Discontents of Capt. *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke*, they prevailed with him to revolt, and declare for the

the King. Other disaffected Parts of the Nation, not yet ready for open Opposition, acted with more Caution, preparing and encouraging Petitions to the Parliament for a Personal Treaty with the King, of which the Principal were *Surrey*, *Essex*, and *Kent*. In *Essex* they met at *Chelmsford* in a tumultuous manner, and seized Sir *William Masham* and other Members of Parliament; who being ready to use all gentle Methods to prevent farther Inconveniences, sent down Mr. *Charles Rich*, second Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, two of their Members, to endeavour to quiet that tumultuous Spirit, with Instructions and Power to promise Indemnity to all that should desist from the prosecution of what they desired in this violent way: which Commission they managed so well, that upon their Promise to present the Requests of the Petitioners, which were drawn up in writing, to the Parliament, and to return them an Answer, the People of the Country dispersed themselves to their own Houses. But the Sedition of the *Surrey*-men was not terminated so easily, of whom many hundreds came to the doors of the Parliament; and not being satisfied with the Answer the Parliament thought fit to give to their Petition, after they had been heated with Drink, and animated by the Cavalier Party, they resolved to force from them another Answer, and with intolerable Insolence pressed upon their Guard, beating the Sentinels to the main Guard, which

was drawn up at the upper end of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where they wounded the Officer who commanded them; and being intreated to deſiſt, became more violent; ſo that the Souldiers were neceſſitated, in their own Defence, and diſcharge of their Duty, to fire upon them, whereby two or three of the Country-men were killed: neither did this quiet them, till ſome Horſe and Foot arrived to ſtrengthen the Guard, and diſperſed them. Lieutenant Colonel *Cobbet* who commanded the Guard, being called into the Houſe to give an account of what had paſſed, went to the Bar bleeding from the Wounds which he had received, and related the Paſſages before-mentioned: but ſome Friends of the Petitioners within doors informing the Houſe that the matter of Fact was otherwiſe than had been repreſented by the Lieutenant Colonel, the Parliament appointed a Committee to examine the Truth of it.

Thoſe of the ſecluded Members who were in *England* being returned to the Houſe, divers hard Words paſſed between them and others of the Parliament; and one day Commiſſary General *Ireton* ſpeaking ſomething concerning them, Mr. *Hollis* thinking it to be injurious to them, paſſing by him in the Houſe, whiſpered him in the ear, telling him it was falſe, and he would juſtify it to be ſo if he would follow him, and thereupon immediately went out of the Houſe, with the other following him. Some Members who had obſerved their paſſio-

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nate Carriage to each other, and ſeen them haſtily leaving the Houſe, acquainted the Parliament with their Apprehenſions; whereupon they ſent their Serjeant at Arms to command their Attendance, which he letting them underſtand as they were taking Boat to go to the other ſide of the Water, they returned; and the Houſe taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, enjoined them to forbear all Words or Actions of Enmity towards each other, and to carry themſelves for the future as Fellow-members of the ſame Body, which they promiſed to do.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* perceiving the Clouds to gather on every ſide, complained to me, as we were walking in the Palace-Yard, of the Unhappineſs of his Condition, having made the greateſt part of the Nation his Enemies, by adhering to a juſt Cauſe: But that which he pretended to be his greateſt Trouble was, that many who were engaged in the ſame Cauſe with him had entertained a Jealouſy and Suſpicion of him; which he aſſured me was a great Diſcouragement to him, asking my Advice, what Method was beſt for him to take. I could not but acknowledg that he had many Enemies for the ſake of the Cauſe in which he ſtood engaged, and alſo that many who were Friends to that Cauſe had conceived Suſpicions of him: but I obſerved to him, that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that Cauſe wherein he was engaged; which if he

ſhould do upon the account of an empty Title, Riches, or any other Advantages, how thoſe Contracts would be kept with him, was uncertain; but moſt certain it was, that his Name would be abominated by all good Men, and his Memory be abhorred by Poſterity. On the other ſide, if he perſiſted in the proſecution of our juſt Intentions, it was the moſt probable way to ſubdue his Enemies, to rectify the Miſtakes of thoſe that had conceived a Jealouſy of him, and to convince his Friends of his Integrity: that if he ſhould fall in the Attempt, yet his Loſs would be lamented by all good Men, and his Name be tranſmitted to future Ages with Honour. He ſeemed to take well what I ſaid, and it might have been no Diſſervice to him if he had acted accordingly; but his Deſign was rather to perſwade me, for the preſent, of the Rectitude of his Intentions, than to receive Counſel from me concerning his Conduct.

About this time we obtained ſome Advantages in *Ireland*, where Col. *Michael Jones*, who had been order'd by the Parliament to command at *Dublin* when the Earl of *Ormond* delivered it up; with the Forces he had, fought the Rebels, tho double his Number, at *Dungon-hill*, killed ſome thouſands of them, and totally routed the reſt: Of which when the Parliament had received Information, they ordered five hundred Pounds by Year of the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* to be ſettled upon Col. *Jones*

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as a Reward for his good Service. In *England* the Defection began to increaſe; Capt. *Henry Lilburn* who commanded for the Parliament in *Tinmouth*-Caſtle, which lies at the Mouth of the Harbour, and is a Key to *Newcaſtle*, declaring for the King; but notice thereof being brought to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* at *Newcaſtle*, of which Town he was Governour, he with great Expedition drew down a Party before the Place, and attacking it unexpectedly, took it by Aſſault, before the Men had been throughly confirmed in their Revolt by the Governour, whom he put to the Sword, and placed another Gariſon therein.

Many of thoſe who had been for the Parliament in *South-wales* now joining with the King's Party, they grew to be a conſiderable Body; whereby Major General *Laughern*, who upon ſome Suſpicion had been under Confinement, was encouraged to get away and join himſelf to them; Major General *John Stradling*, Sir *Henry Stradling*, Col. *Thomas Stradling*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of thoſe Parts falling in with them. Col. *Horton*, with about two thouſand five hundred Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, was ſent into *Wales* to engage them; Lieutenant General *Cromwell* following with as many more Forces as could be ſpared from the Army; who being within three or four days March of Col. *Horton*, received Advice that the Enemy, to the number of about ſeven thouſand, had engaged the Colonel at St. *Faggons*

in *Glamorganſhire*; that upon the firſt Attack our Forces gave ground, but well conſidering the Danger they were in, the Country being full of Enemies, and encouraged by their Affection to the Cauſe wherein they were engaged, they charged the Enemies Van, conſiſting of the beſt of their Men, with ſo great Bravery and Reſolution, that they forced them to give way; which thoſe that were in their Rear, who were for the moſt part new-raiſed Men, perceiving, began to ſhift for themſelves. Upon this ours followed their Charge with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that the whole Body of the Enemy was ſoon routed and diſperſed; many of them were killed in the Purſuit, and many taken Priſoners: amongſt the latter was Major General *Stradling*, and divers other Officers. The News of this Succeſs was very welcome to all thoſe that wiſhed well to the Publick, and proved a great Diſcouragement to the contrary Party.

The Petitioners of *Surrey* drew into a Body, and in conjunction with the Kentiſh-men of the King's Party, appointed their Rendezvouz upon *Black-heath*: But Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with that part of the Army which he had with him, diſappointed that Deſign, by poſſeſſing himſelf of that Ground before them. However the Enemy had brought together a conſiderable Body of Men, many of whom were induced to come in, upon Aſſurances given that they ſhould be commanded by Mr. *Hales*, a Gentleman of

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a great Eſtate in *Kent*; tho afterwards the Lord *Goring* appeared at the Head of them, as had been deſigned from the beginning. Upon the Advance of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, the Enemy, who exceeded him in Number by one half at leaſt, divided their Body, ſending one part to poſſeſs themſelves of *Maidſtone* and the adjacent Places, and another Party to block up *Dover* and other Forts upon the Coaſt, whilſt *Goring* remained with the reſt about *Rocheſter*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* reſolving firſt to attack thoſe about *Maidſtone*, fell upon them, and beat them into the Town, which they had fortified before; whereupon tho the Numbers within the Town being at leaſt equal to thoſe without, made it a Work of great Hazard and Difficulty, yet conſidering that thoſe with the Lord *Goring* exceeded either, and might march to the Enemies Relief, ours reſolved to ſtorm the Place, which they did the Night following; the General by his own Example encouraging the Men to fall on, who for a good while were not able to make any conſiderable Progreſs, till Col. *Hewſon* with his Regiment opened a Paſſage into one of the Streets, where the Diſpute growing hot, he was knocked down with a Muſquet; but recovering himſelf, he preſſed the Enemy ſo hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main Guard, and falling in with them at the ſame time, ſo diſordered them, that they all began to ſhift for themſelves; wherein they were favoured by the Advantage

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of the Night: yet many of them were made Prisoners, and many killed; many Horses and all their Artillery fell into the hands of ours. The General, as soon as he had refreshed his Men, advanced towards that Body commanded by the Lord *Goring*, which was much increased in Number by the Addition of those who escaped from *Maidstone*, but not in Resolution, being so discouraged with their Relation of what had passed there, that immediately upon our Approach they began to retreat, many of them running away to their own Habitations. Notwithstanding this, a considerable Body continuing with the Lord *Goring*, he sent to the City of *London*, desiring leave to march through the City into *Essex*, designing to recruit his Men with such of that County as had lately expressed so much Affection to the King's Interest. The City, tho much inclined to have the King received upon Terms, yet not willing absolutely to espouse the Cavalier Party, especially in a flying Posture; and considering that there was a great Number still amongst them who retained their Affection to the Publick Cause, returned a positive Denial to *Goring*: so that he was necessitated to make use of Boats or other means to transport his Men over the River into the County of *Essex*. A Party of Horse was sent from the Army to keep a Guard at *Bow-bridg*, as well to prevent the disaffected in the City from running to the Enemy, as to hinder them from doing any thing to the prejudice of *London*. Lieu-

Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, with that part of the Army which was with him, beſieged the Caſtle and Town of *Pembroke*, whither the principal of that Body which fled from St. *Faggons* had made their Retreat. In the mean time the Presbyterian Party prevailing in the Houſe, by reaſon of the Abſence of divers Members who belonged to the Army, and were employed in all parts of the Nation, diſcharged from Priſon thoſe who had been committed upon the account of that Force which was put upon the Houſe by the late Tumults, and the Parliament left to the Mercy of their Enemies with a very ſlender Guard. The Lord *Liſle*'s Commiſſion to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* expiring at the ſame time, they refuſed to renew it; by which means the Province of *Munſter* fell into the hands of the Lord *Inchequin* as Preſident, who made uſe of the opportunity to diſplace thoſe Officers that had been put in by the Lord *Liſle*, preferring his own Creatures to their Employments, to the great prejudice of the Engliſh Intereſt in that Country: many others who were acquainted with his Temper and Principles quitted voluntarily; and tho he ſtill pretended Fidelity to the State of *England*, yet he expreſſed himſelf diſſatisfied with the Proceedings of the Army-Party towards him. Some Overtures alſo he had received from the Iriſh touching an Accommodation; but being ſtraitned by them in his Quarters, and therefore advancing with his

Army

Army towards them, Col. *Temple* and ſome others yet remaining in his Army being willing to improve the occaſion, preſſed him ſo hard to reſolve to fight, that he could not well avoid it. At the beginning of the Battel the Succeſs ſeemed to be very doubtful, but in the end ours obtained the Victory, ſome thouſands of the Enemy being killed, many made Priſoners, and all their Baggage taken. Not long after this he declared againſt the Parliament, and joined with the Iriſh Rebels: Some of the Engliſh Officers concurred with him in his Declaration; many left him and came to the Parliament, who made proviſion for them, as they had done for thoſe that came away before. Tho this Conjunction of *Inchequin* was not concluded without the King's Conſent, yet it was not a proper ſeaſon for him to condeſcend ſo far as they deſired: whereby great Diviſions aroſe amongſt them; for there was a Party of Old Iriſh, as they were called, headed principally by *Owen Roe O Neal*, of whom ſeveral were in the Supreme Council, who, out of an innate Hatred to the Engliſh Government, joined with thoſe who would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than to have the Pope acknowledged to be their only Supreme Lord: ſo that not being able to agree, their Differences proved very ſerviceable to the Engliſh Intereſt. The like Spirit of Diviſion appeared amongſt our Enemies in *Scotland*, where tho the Number was great of thoſe that profeſſed their conſtant Adherence to their Engagements

gagements contained in the Covenant, yet when it came to a Trial in their Convention, the Anti-Covenanters, who were for reſtoring the King without any Terms, carried all before them: So that inſtead of the Marquiſs of *Argile*, the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* was appointed General of their Army; all the inferiour Officers being of the ſame Mold and Principle; inſomuch that the Pulpits who before had proclaimed this War, now accompanied the Army that was preparing to march with their Curſes: for tho they could have been contented that the Sectarian Party, as they called it, ſhould be ruined, provided they could find Strength enough to bring in the King themſelves; yet they feared their old Enemy more than their new one, becauſe the latter would only reſtrain them from lording it over them and others, affording them equal Liberty with themſelves; whereas the former was ſo far from that, as hardly to ſuffer them to be Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: for thoſe who would have all Power both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical put into one Hand, could not poſſibly agree with ſuch as would have it divided into many.

Theſe Affairs neceſſitated the Parliament to raiſe the Militia, in order to oppoſe this malevolent Spirit which threatned them from the North, and alſo prevailed with them to diſcountenance a Charge of High Treaſon, framed by Major *Huntington*, an Officer of the Army, with the Advice of ſome Members of both Houſes,

Houſes, againſt Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, for endeavouring, by betraying the King, Parliament, and Army, to advance himſelf; it being manifeſt that the preferring this Accuſation at that time, was principally deſigned to take him off from his Command, and thereby to weaken the Army, that their Enemies might be the better enabled to prevail againſt them.

The Deſign of the King's Eſcape was ſtill carried on; but by the Vigilance of the Governour of the *Iſle of Wight* and his Officers it was diſcovered and prevented. The next Morning after the Diſcovery they found the Iron Bars of the King's Chamber-window eaten through by ſomething applied to them: Whereupon thoſe who were to have been inſtrumental in his Eſcape, not knowing otherwiſe how to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had defeated their Enterprize, accuſed Major *Rolfe*, a Captain in that Gariſon very active and vigilant in his Charge, of a Deſign to kill the King, raiſing ſuch a Clamour about it, that the Parliament thought not fit to decline the putting him upon his Trial; but the Accuſation appearing to the Grand Jury to be grounded upon Malice, they refuſed to find the Bill. About the ſame time Capt. *Burleigh*, who had beat a Drum at *Newport* for the reſcuing of the King, was brought to his Trial; and the Jury having found him guilty of High Treaſon, he was executed according to the Sentence.

Thoſe

Thoſe of the Enemies commanded by the Lord *Goring*, who had fled into *Eſſex*, grew to a conſiderable Number; but being new-raiſed Men, and not well acquainted one with another, upon the Advance of our Army retreated to *Colcheſter* with a Body ſo much exceeding ours, which purſued and beſieged them in that Place, that Commiſſary General *Ireton* compared the Town and thoſe therein to a great Bee-hive, and our Army to a ſmall Swarm of Bees ſticking on one ſide of it; but the number of ours was ſoon increaſed by the Forces which the well-affected in the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridg*, ſent to their Aſſiſtance.

The Earl of *Holland*, who at the beginning of the Parliament had appeared active for them, and afterwards leaving them, had gone to the King at *Oxford*, when he ſuppoſed him to grow ſtrong; then again returning to the Parliament upon the declining of the King's Affairs, publiſhing a Declaration at his coming to *London*, that he left the King becauſe he ſaw the Iriſh Rebels ſo eminently favoured by him; in this low Condition of the Parliament, revolted again, and formed a Party of about a thouſand Horſe, with which he marched from *London*, and declared againſt them, accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, (whoſe Sequeſtration upon the account of his Minority when he firſt engaged with the King, the Parliament had freely remitted) and the Lord

Francis

Francis his Brother, prevailing alſo with *Dalbeir*, formerly Quarter-Maſter-General to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to join with them. Their Rendezvouz was appointed to be upon *Banſted-Downs*; but the Vigilance of the Parliament was ſuch, that a Party of Horſe and Foot was ſoon ſent after them, commanded by Sir *Michael Leweſey*, who without much Diſpute put thoſe Courtly Gentlemen to the rout. The Lord *Francis* preſuming perhaps that his Beauty would have charmed the Souldiers, as it had done Mrs. *Kirke*, for whom he made a ſplendid Entertainment the Night before he left the Town, and made her a Preſent of Plate to the Value of a thouſand Pounds, ſtayed behind his Company, where unſeaſonably daring the Troopers, and refuſing to take Quarter, he was killed, and after his Death there was found upon him ſome of the Hair of Mrs. *Kirk* few'd in a piece of Ribbon that hung next his Skin. The reſt fled towards St. *Neots* in the County of *Huntingtон*, where being fallen upon again, they were routed a ſecond time: in which Action the Parliament's Souldiers, to expreſs their Deteſtation of *Dalbeir*'s Treachery, hewed him in pieces. The Earl of *Holland* was taken, and ſent Priſoner to *Warwick*-Caſtle; but the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped, and went over to *France*.

Pomfret-Caſtle being ſeized by ſome of the King's Party, was beſieged by the Country, aſſiſted by ſome of the Army, Sir *Hugh Cholme-*

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ly commanding at the Siege; but the Army finding little Progreſs made therein, ordered Col. *Rainsborough* with more Forces thither, appointing him to command in the room of Sir *Hugh Cholmely*. Whilſt he was preparing for that Service, being at *Doncaſter*, ten or twelve Miles from *Pomfret*, with a conſiderable Force in the Town, a Party of Horſe diſmounting at his Quarters, and going up as Friends to his Chamber, under pretence of having buſineſs with him, ſeized him firſt, and upon his Refuſal to go ſilently with them, murdered him. After his Death another Commander being appointed in his place to carry on the Siege, thoſe in the Caſtle were reduced to ſuch Extremities, that ſome of the moſt deſperate of them reſolved, together with their Governour one *Morris*, who had been Page to the Earl of *Strafford*, to endeavour the breaking through our Forces on Horſeback; which they attempted, and tho moſt of them were beaten back to the Caſtle by the Beſiegers, yet this *Morris* made his way through; but was afterwards taken as he paſſed through the Country in the Diſguiſe of a Beggar, and carried to *York*, where he was arraigned before Juſtice *Thorpe*, and being found guilty of Treaſon, was executed for the ſame.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, with that part of the Army which was with him, beſieged the Town and Caſtle of *Pembroke*, whither the chief of that Party that fled from St. *Faggons*

had made their Retreat, as I said before; but wanting great Guns, he was obliged to send for some to *Glocester*, which with much difficulty were brought to him. This Place detained the greatest part of our Army about six Weeks; but it was remarkable, that about the time the Scots were entring into *England*, the Garison, for want of Provisions, was forced to capitulate and surrender upon Articles, by which some of them were to remain Prisoners, and others to be banished into *Ireland* for three Years; amongst the latter were Col. *Thomas Stradling*, Sir *Henry Stradling*, Col. *Button* and Major *Butler*; of the first were Col. *Laughern*, Col. *Poyer*, and Col. *Powell*.

Twenty Thousand Scots being upon their March into *England* under the Conduct of Duke *Hamilton*, with about five Thousand English, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, some of us who had opposed the Lieutenant General's Arbitrary Proceedings, when we were convinced he acted to promote a selfish and unwarrantable Design, now thinking our selves obliged to strengthen his Hands in that necessary Work, which he was appointed to undertake, writ a Letter to him to encourage him, from the Consideration of the Justice of the Cause wherein he was engaged, and the Wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with Chearfulness, assuring him, that notwithstanding all our Discouragements we would readily give him all the Assistance we

 could.

could. The Houſe of Commons declared the Scots who had invaded *England* to be Enemies, and ordered the Lieutenant General to advance towards them, and fight them: But the Lords in this doubtful Poſture of Affairs declined to concur with them in the ſame: Yet both of them, with the City of *London*, joined in driving on a Perſonal Treaty with the King in the *Iſle of Wight*, and to that end the Lords and Commons revoked the Votes for Non-Addreſſes; whereby the King ſeemed to be on ſure ground, for that if the Scots Army failed, he might ſtill make Terms with the Parliament. The King's Party in *Colcheſter* were alſo much encouraged with hopes of Relief from the Scots Army, who were very numerous, and well furniſhed with all things but a good Cauſe. To fight this formidable Army the Lieutenant General could not make up much above ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, and thoſe ſo extremely haraſſed with hard Service and long Marches, that they ſeemed rather fit for a Hoſpital than a Battel. With this handful of Men he advanced towards the Enemy, and about *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire* both Armies met on the 17*th* of *Auguſt*, 1648. The Engliſh who were in the Scots Army had the Honour of the Van, and for a time entertained ours with ſome Oppoſition; but being vigorouſly preſſed by our Men, they were forced to retreat to a Paſs, which they maintained againſt us, whilſt they ſent to their General for Succours; which he not ſend-

ing, on purpoſe, as was ſaid, that the Engliſh might be cut off, and his Party kept intire to enable him to ſet up for himſelf, and give Law to both Nations, they began to ſhift for themſelves: which made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Scots, that they ſoon followed their Example, retreating in a diſorderly manner. Ours followed them ſo cloſe, that moſt of their Foot threw down their Arms, and yielded themſelves Priſoners. Many of the principal Officers of their Foot were taken, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage: *Hamilton*, with four or five thouſand Horſe in a Body, left the Field, and was purſued by Col. *Thorney* a Member of Parliament, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, a worthy and a valiant Man, who following them too cloſe, and unadviſedly run himſelf upon one of their Lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded, which he perceiving by the waſting of his Spirits, to expreſs his Affection to his Country, and Joy for the Defeat of the Enemy, deſired his Men to open to the right and left, that he might have the Satisfaction to ſee them run before he died. The Enemies Body of Horſe kept themſelves together for ſome days roving up and down the Country about *Leiceſterſhire*, which County the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* had raiſed, and brought together about three thouſand Horſe and Foot to preſerve the Country from Plunder, and to take all poſſible Advantages againſt the Enemy: and tho a Body of Horſe

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from the Army was in purſuit of the Scots, yet the *Leiceſterſhire* Party came up firſt to them at *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, where the Body of the Enemies Horſe was; and whilſt the Scots were treating with the other Party from the Army, the Lord *Grey*'s Men obſerving no Guards kept, entred upon them, before any Conditions were made; whereupon *Hamilton* ſurrendred himſelf to Col. *Wayte*, an Officer of the *Leiceſterſhire*-Party, delivering to him his Scarf, his George, and his Sword, which laſt he deſired him to keep carefully, becauſe it had belonged to his Anceſtors. By the two Parties the Scots were all made Priſoners, and all their Horſes ſeized: the Duke of *Hamilton* was carried Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle, and all their Standards of Horſe and Foot were taken and ſent up to *London*, where the Parliament ordered them to be hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The Houſe of Lords who had avoided to declare the Scots Enemies whilſt their Army was entire, now after their Defeat prevented the Houſe of Commons, and moved that a Day might be appointed to give God Thanks for this Succeſs. The News of this Victory being carried to the *Iſle of Wight*, the King ſaid to the Governour, that it was the worſt News that ever came to *England*; to which he anſwered, That he thought the King had no cauſe to be of that Opinion, ſince if *Hamilton* had beaten the Engliſh, he would certainly have poſſeſſed himſelf of the Thrones of *Eng-*

land and *Scotland:* The King presently replied, *You are mistaken, I could have commanded him back with the motion of my Hand.* Which whether he could do or no, was doubtful; but whatever Reasons he had for this Opinion, it seemed very unseasonable to own it openly in that Conjuncture. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* marched with part of his Army to *Edinburgh*, where he dispossessed the *Hamiltonian* Party of their Authority, and put the Power into the hands of the Presbyterians; by whom he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy: and tho lately they looked upon the Independent Party as the worst of their Enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their best Friends and Deliverers; and having notice given them that the English Army was about to return into *England*, they prevailed with the Lieutenant General to leave Major General *Lambert* with a Body of Horse, till they could raise more Forces to provide for their own Safety.

The Treaty with the King being pressed with more heat than ever, and a Design visibly appearing to render all our Victories useless thereby; by the Advice of some Friends I went down to the Army, which lay at that time before *Colchester*; where attending upon the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to acquaint him with the state of Affairs at *London*, I told him, that a Design was driving on to betray the Cause in which so much of the Peoples

Blood

Blood had been ſhed: that the King being under a Reſtraint, would not account himſelf obliged by any thing he ſhould promiſe under ſuch Circumſtances; aſſuring him, that moſt of thoſe who puſhed on the Treaty with the greateſt Vehemency, intended not that he ſhould be bound to the performance of it, but deſigned principally to uſe his Authority and Favour in order to deſtroy the Army; who, as they had aſſumed the Power, ought to make the beſt uſe of it, and to prevent the Ruin of Themſelves and the Nation. He acknowledged what I ſaid to be true, and declared himſelf reſolved to uſe the Power he had, to maintain the Cauſe of the Publick, upon a clear and evident Call, looking upon himſelf to be obliged to purſue the Work which he was about. Perceiving by ſuch a general Anſwer that he was irreſolute, I went to Commiſſary General *Ireton*, who had a great Influence upon him, and having found him, we diſcourſed together upon the ſame Subject, wherein we both agreed that it was neceſſary for the Army to interpoſe in this matter, but differed about the time; he being of opinion, that it was beſt to permit the King and the Parliament to make an Agreement, and to wait till they had made a full Diſcovery of their Intentions, whereby the People becoming ſenſible of their own Danger, would willingly join to oppoſe them. My Opinion was, that it would be much eaſier for the Army to keep them from a Conjunction,

than to oppose them when united; it being highly probable that the first things they would fall upon after their Union, would be such as were most taking with the People, in order to oblige them to assist in the disbanding of the Army, under pretence of lessening their Taxes: and then if the Army should in any manner signify a Dislike of their Proceedings, they would be esteemed by the Majority of the People, to be Disturbers of the publick Peace, and accused of designing nothing save their own particular Advantages.

The King's Party in *Colchester* expecting to be included in the Peace which was treating between him and the Parliament, held out to the utmost; but being in extreme want of Provisions, and destitute of all hopes of Relief since the Defeat of the Scots, they were forced to surrender on the 28*th* of *August*, 1648. upon Articles, whereby some of the principal of them being Prisoners at Discretion, the Court Martial assembled and condemned Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Barnard Gascoin*, to die; the last of whom being a Foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were shot to death according to the Sentence. The Lord *Goring* and the Lord *Capel* were sent Prisoners to *London*, and committed to the Tower by an Order of the Parliament.

The Two Houses finding things in this posture, hastened the Departure of their Commissioners to the *Isle of Wight*, with Powers

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and Inſtructions to treat with the King, who principally inſiſted on that Article concerning Biſhops, whom he accounted to be by Divine Right, or rather eſſentially neceſſary to the Support of Arbitrary Power; whereupon Miniſters of each ſide were appointed to diſpute touching that Subject, in order to ſatisfy the King's Conſcience. But the Army having now wonderfully diſperſed their Enemies on every part, began to conſider how to ſecure themſelves and the Common Cauſe againſt thoſe Counſels that were carried on in oppoſition to them, under pretext of making Peace with the King, and to that end drew up a Declaration at St. *Albans*, dated the *16th* of *November*, 1648. ſhewing, that the Grounds of their firſt Engagement was to bring Delinquents to Juſtice; that the King was guilty of the Blood ſhed in the firſt and ſecond War, and that therefore they could not truſt him with the Government. This Remonſtrance they preſented to the Parliament on the *20th* of *November*, 1648. The King and Parliament ſeeing this Cloud beginning to gather, endeavoured by all means poſſible to haſten their Treaty to a Concluſion. The Army alſo were not wanting to fortify themſelves againſt that Shock, ſending ſome of their own Number to thoſe Members of Parliament, whom they eſteemed moſt faithful to the Common Cauſe, to invite them down to the Army, after they ſhould in a publick manner have expreſſed their Diſſatisfaction to the Proceedings

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of thoſe who had betrayed the Truſt repoſed in them by the good People of *England*, and declared, that finding it impoſſible to be any farther ſerviceable in Parliament, they had reſolved to repair to the Army in order toprocure their Aſſiſtance in ſettling the Government of the Nation upon a juſt Foundation. At a Meeting of ſome Members of Parliament with the ſaid Officers from the Army, it was reſolved, That tho the way propoſed by them might be taken in caſe all other means failed, yet ſeeing there was more than a ſufficient Number of Members in the Parliament to make a Houſe, who were moſt affectionate to the Publick Cauſe, it would be more proper for the Army to relieve them from thoſe who rendred them uſeleſs to the Publick Service, thereby preſerving the Name and Place of the Parliament, than for the Members thereof to quit their Stations wherein they were appointed to ſerve, and to leave the Civil Authority in the hands of thoſe who would be ready to fall in with any Power that would attempt to fruſtrate what ſhould be agreed on by them and the Army. In proſecution of this Reſult the Army drew to *Colebrook*, from whence Commiſſary General *Ireton* ſent me word, that now he hoped they ſhould pleaſe me, which I muſt acknowledg they did by the way which they were taking; not from any particular Advantages that I expected from it, except an equal ſhare of Security with other Men; but that the People of *England* might

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be preſerved in their juſt Rights, from the Oppreſſions of violent Men; the Queſtion in diſpute between the King's Party and us being, as I apprehended, *Whether the King ſhould govern as a God by his Will, and the Nation be governed by Force like Beaſts: or whether the People ſhould be governed by Laws made by themſelves, and live under a Government derived from their own Conſent.* Being fully perſwaded that an Accommodation with the King was unſafe to the People of *England*, and unjuſt and wicked in the nature of it. The former, beſides that it was obvious to all Men, the King himſelf had proved, by the Duplicity of his dealing with the Parliament, which manifeſtly appeared in his own Papers taken at the Battle of *Naſeby*, and elſewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the expreſs Words of God's Law; *That Blood defileth the Land, and the Land cannot be cleanſed of the Blood that is ſhed therein, but by the Blood of him that ſhed it.* Numbers, Chap. 35. v. 33. And therefore I could not conſent to the Counſels of thoſe, who were contented to leave the Guilt of ſo much Blood upon the Nation, and thereby to draw down the juſt Vengeance of God upon us all; when it was moſt evident that the War had been occaſioned by the Invaſion of our Rights, and open Breach of our Laws and Conſtitution on the King's part.

The Commiſſioners that were appointed to manage the Treaty with the King returned with the King's Anſwer, containing neither a poſitive Grant, nor an abſolute Denial. As to the Biſhops,

ſhops, he ſtill retained his Principle of their Divine Right, and therefore declared that he could not diſpenſe with the Abolition of them; but for preſent Satisfaction, hoping by giving ground to gain a better opportunity to ſerve them, he conſented that thoſe who had bought their Lands ſhould have a Leaſe of them for ſome Years: and for ſatisfaction for the Blood that had been ſhed, he was willing that ſix ſhould be excepted; but withal Care was taken, that they ſhould be ſuch as were far enough from the reach of Juſtice. By another Article, the Militia was to remain in the Parliament for ten Years: thereby implying, if I miſtake not, that the Right of granting it was in the King, and conſequently that we had done him wrong in contending with him for it. By ſuch ways and means did ſome Men endeavour to abuſe the Nation.

Some of our Commiſſioners who had been with the King, pleaded in the Houſe for a Concurrence with him, as if they had been imployed by him; tho others with more Ingenuity acknowledged that they would not adviſe an Agreement upon thoſe Terms, were it not to prevent a greater Evil that was like to enſue upon the Refuſal of them. But Sir *Henry Vane* ſo truly ſtated the matter of Fact relating to the Treaty, and ſo evidently diſcovered the Deſign and Deceit of the King's Anſwer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the Juſtice of our Cauſe was not aſſerted, nor our Rights ſecured for the future; concluding, that if they ſhould accept of theſe Terms without the Concurrence of the

Army,

Army, it would prove but a Feather in their Caps: Notwithſtanding which the corrupt Party in the Houſe having bargain'd for their own and the Nation's Liberty, reſolved to break through all Hazards and Inconveniences to make good their Contract, and after twenty four hours Debate, reſolved by the Plurality of Votes, *That the King's Conceſſions were Ground for a future Settlement.* At which ſome of us expreſſing our Diſſatisfaction, deſired that our Proteſtation might be entred; but that being denied, as againſt the Orders of the Houſe, I contented my ſelf to declare publickly, that being convinced that they had deſerted the Common Cauſe and Intereſt of the Nation, I could no longer join with them; the reſt of thoſe who diſſented alſo expreſſing themſelves much to the ſame purpoſe. The day following ſome of the principal Officers of the Army came to *London*, with expectation that things would be brought to this iſſue; and conſulting with ſome Members of Parliament and others, it was concluded after a full and free Debate, that the Meaſures taken by the Parliament were contrary to the Truſt repoſed in them, and tending to contract the Guilt of the Blood that had been ſhed upon themſelves, and the Nation: that it was therefore the Duty of the Army to endeavour to put a ſtop to ſuch Proceedings; having engaged in the War, not ſimply as Mercenaries, but out of Judgment and Conſcience, being convinced that the Cauſe in which they

were

were engaged was juſt, and that the Good of the People was involved in it. Being come to this Reſolution, three of the Members of the Houſe, and three of the Officers of the Army withdrew into a private Room, to conſider of the beſt means to attain the ends of our ſaid Reſolution, where we agreed that the Army ſhould be drawn up the next Morning, and Guards placed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Court of Requeſts, and the Lobby; that none might be permitted to paſs into the Houſe but ſuch as had continued faithful to the Publick Intereſt. To this end we went over the Names of all the Members one by one, giving the trueſt Characters we could of their Inclinations, wherein I preſume we were not miſtaken in many; for the Parliament was fallen into ſuch Factions and Diviſions, that any one who uſually attended and obſerved the buſineſs of the Houſe, could, after a Debate upon any Queſtion, eaſily number the Votes that would be on each ſide, before the Queſtion was put. Commiſſary General *Ireton* went to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and acquainted him with the neceſſity of this extraordinary way of proceeding, having taken care to have the Army drawn up the next Morning by ſeven of the Clock. Col. *Pride* commanded the Guard that attended at the Parliament-doors, having a Liſt of thoſe Members who were to be excluded, preventing them from entring into the Houſe, and ſecuring ſome of the moſt ſuſpected under a Guard provided

for

for that end; in which he was assisted by the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* and others, who knew the Members. To justify these Proceedings the Army sent a Message to the House, representing, That whereas divers Members had been expelled the House upon account of the Violence done to the Parliament by the City of *London*, and others, in 1647. yet upon the Absence of many well-affected Members, by reason of their Employments in the Army and elsewhere against the Enemy, the said Persons were re-admitted without any Trial or Satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused; whereby the Scots had been drawn to invade this Kingdom, and the House prevented by the Intruders and their Accomplices from declaring against the Invaders, who had made up the Number of ninety odd Votes to that purpose: And whereas by the prevalency of the same corrupt Counsels, Justice had been obstructed, and a Settlement of Affairs hindred: and lastly, the King's Concessions declared to be a Ground for the Settlement of Peace, notwithstanding the Insufficiency and Defects of them; they therefore most humbly desired that all those Members who are innocent in these things, would by a publick Declaration acquit themselves from any Guilt thereof, or Concurrence therein; and that those who shall not so acquit themselves, may be excluded or suspended the House till they have given clear Satisfaction therein; that those who

who have faithfully performed their Truſt, may proceed without interruption to the execution of Juſtice, and to make ſpeedy proviſion for an equal Succeſſion of Repreſentatives, wherein Differences may be compoſed, and all Men comfortably acquieſce, as they for their parts thereby engaged and aſſured them they would. The Houſe, wherein there was about ſix ſcore, was moved to ſend for thoſe Members who were thus excluded by the Army; which they did, as I preſume, rather upon the account of Decency, than from any deſire they had that their Meſſage ſhould be obeyed; and that it might clearly appear that this Interruption proceeded from the Army, and not from any Advice of the Parliament, to the end that what they ſhould act ſeparately, might be eſteemed to be only in order to prevent ſuch Inconveniences as might otherwiſe fall upon the Nation, if the whole Power ſhould be left in the hands of an Army; and that their Actions appearing to be founded upon this Neceſſity, they might the better ſecure the Reſpect and Obedience of the People. Upon ſuch Conſiderations, when the Serjeant returned and acquainted them that the excluded Members were detained by the Army, the Houſe proceeded in the buſineſs before them.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* the Night after the Interruption of the Houſe arrived from *Scotland*, and lay at *Whitehall*, where, and at other Places, he declared that he had not been

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acquainted with this Design; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

Major General *Harrison* being sent by the Army with a Party of Horse to bring the King from the *Isle of Wight*, Col. *Hammond*, who was entrusted with the Custody of him by the Parliament, disputed to deliver him; but finding that those about him inclined to comply, he thought it not convenient to make any farther Opposition: So that the King was conducted from the Island to *Hurst*-Castle, and from thence to *Windsor*, by Major General *Harrison*. Being on his way, he dined at Mr. *Leviston*'s in *Bagshot*-Park, who had provided a Horse for him to make his Escape; but this Design also was discovered, and prevented. The King being at *Windsor*, it was debated what should be done with him: The Army were for bringing him to a Trial, for levying War against the Parliament and People of *England*, and the Common Council of the City of *London* presented a Petition to the Parliament by the hands of Col. *Titchborn* to that effect; but some of the Commonwealths-men desired that before they consented to that Method, it might be resolved what Government to establish, fearing a Design in the Army to set up some one of themselves in his room: others endeavoured to perswade them that the execution of Justice ought to be their first Work, in respect of their Duty to God and the People;

that the failure therein had been already the occasion of a second War, which was justly to be charged on the Parliament for neglecting that Duty; that those who were truly Commonwealths-men, ought to be of that Opinion, as the most probable means to attain their Desires in the establishment of an equal and just Government; and that the Officers of the Army, who were chiefly to be suspected, could not be guilty of so much Impudence and Folly, to erect an Arbitrary Power in any one of themselves, after they had in so publick a manner declared their Detestation of it in another.

In order to the accomplishment of the important Work which the House of Commons had now before them, they voted, *That by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, it is Treason for the King of* England, *for the time being, to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom.* To which the Lords not concurring, they passed it the next day without their Consent; and the day after declared, *That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power: That the House of Commons being chosen by, and representing the People, are the Supreme Power in the Nation: That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament, hath the Force of a Law, and the People are concluded thereby, tho the Consent of King or Peers be not had thereto.*

This Obstruction being removed, several Petitions were brought to the Parliament, for

ſo the Houſe of Commons now ſtiled themſelves, from the City of *London*, Borough of *Southwark*, and moſt of the Counties in *England*, requeſting that the King might be brought to Juſtice; in order to which they paſſed an Act, authorizing the Perſons therein named, or any thirty of them, to proceed to the Arraignment, Condemnation or Acquittal of the King; with full Power, in caſe of Condemnation, to proceed to Sentence, and to cauſe the ſaid Sentence to be put in Execution.

This High Court of Juſtice met on the *8th* of *January* 1648 in the Painted Chamber, to the number of about fourſcore, conſiſting chiefly of Members of Parliament, Officers of the Army, and Gentlemen of the Country; where they choſe Serjeant *Aske*, Serjeant *Steel*, and Dr. *Dorriſlaus* to be their Counſel; Mr. *John Coke* of *Grays-Inn* to be their Solicitor, and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* their Secretary; and ſent out a Precept under their Hands and Seals for proclaiming the Court to be held in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on the tenth of the ſaid Month; which was performed accordingly by Serjeant *Dendy*, attended by a Party of Horſe, in *Cheapſide*, before the old *Exchange*, and in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. On the the tenth they choſe Serjeant *Bradſhaw* to be their Preſident, with Mr. *Liſle* and Mr. *Say* to be his Aſſiſtants; and a Charge of High Treaſon being drawn up againſt the King, the Court appointed a convenient Place to be prepared at the upper end of *Weſtminſter-*

Hall for his Publick Trial, directing it to be covered with Scarlet Cloth, and ordered twenty Halberdiers to attend the President, and thirty the King.

All things being thus prepared for the Trial, the King was conducted from *Windsor* to St. *James's*: from whence on the 20*th* of *January* he was brought to the Bar of the High Court of Justice, where the President acquainted the King with the Causes of his being brought to that Place: For that He contrary to the Trust reposed in him by the People, to see the Laws put in execution for their Good, had made use of his Power to subvert those Laws, and to set up his Will and Pleasure as a Law over them: that in order to effect that Design, he had endeavoured the Suppression of Parliaments, the best Defence of the Peoples Liberties: That he had levied War against the Parliament and People of *England*, wherein great numbers of the good People had been slain, of which Blood the Parliament presuming him guilty, had appointed this High Court of Justice for the Trial of him for the same. Then turning to Mr. *Broughton* Clerk of the Court, he commanded him to read the Charge against the King; who as the Clerk was reading the Charge, interrupted him, saying, *I am not intrusted by the People, they are mine by Inheritance*; demanding by what Authority they brought him thither. The President answered, that they derived their Authority from an Act made

made by the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament: The King said the Commons could not give an Oath; that they were no Court, and therefore could make no Act for the Trial of any Man, much less of him their Soveraign. It was replied, that the Commons assembled in Parliament could acknowledg no other Soveraign but God, for that upon his and the Peoples Appeal to the Sword for the Decision of their respective Pretensions, Judgment had been given for the People; who conceiving it to be their Duty not to bear the Sword in vain, had appointed the Court to make Inquisition for the Blood that had been shed in that Dispute. Whereupon the President being moved by Mr. Solicitor *Coke* in the Name, and on the Behalf of the good People of *England*, commanded the Clerk of the Court to proceed in the reading of the Charge against him: which being done, the King was required to give his Answer to it, and to plead guilty, or not guilty. The King demurred to the Jurisdiction of the Court, affirming that no Man, nor Body of Men had Power to call him to an account, being not intrusted by Man; and therefore accountable only to God for his Actions; entring upon a large Discourse of his being in Treaty with the Parliament's Commissioners at the *Isle of Wight*, and his being taken from thence he knew not how, when he thought he was come to a Conclusion with them. This Discourse seeming not to the purpose, the President told

him, that as to his Plea of not being accountable to Man, seeing God by his Providence had over-ruled it, the Court had resolved to do so also; and that if he would give no other Answer, that which he had given should be registred, and they would proceed as if he had confessed the Charge: In order to which the President commanded his Answer to be entred, directing Serjeant *Dendy*, who attended the Court, to withdraw the Prisoner; which as he was doing, many Persons cried out in the Hall, *Justice*, *Justice*. The King being withdrawn, the Court adjourned into the Painted Chamber to consider what farther was fit to be done; and being desirous to prevent all Objections tending to accuse them of Haste or Surprize, they resolved to convene him before them publickly twice more; after which if he persisted in his Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, then to give Judgment against him. And that nothing might be wanting, in case he should resolve to plead, they appointed Witnesses to be examined to every Article of the Charge. At the King's second Appearance before the Court, which was on the 22*d* of *January*, he carried himself in the same manner as before; whereupon his Refusal being again entred, and he withdrawn, the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber. On the twenty third of *January* the King was brought a third time before the Commissioners, where refusing to plead, as he had done before, his Refusal

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was entered, and Witneſſes examined publickly to prove the Charge of his levying War againſt the Parliament: After which Solicitor General *Coke* demanded of the Court that they would proceed to the pronouncing of Sentence againſt the Priſoner at the Bar: whereupon the Court adjourned into the Painted Chamber, and upon ſerious conſideration declared the King to be a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth: that his Condemnation extend unto Death, by ſevering his Head from his Body, and that a Sentence grounded upon thoſe Votes be prepared; which being agreed upon, the King ſhould be ordered on the next day following to receive it. The Sentence being engroſſed, was read on the 27*th* of *January*; and thereupon the Court reſolved, that the ſame ſhould be the Sentence, which ſhould be read and publiſhed in *Weſtminſter-Hall* the ſame Day; that the Preſident ſhould not permit the King to ſpeak after the Sentence pronounced; that he ſhould openly declare it to be the Senſe and Judgment of the Court, and that the Commiſſioners ſhould ſignify their Conſent by ſtanding up. In the Afternoon the King was brought to the Bar, and deſired that he might be permitted to make one Propoſition before they proceeded to Sentence; which he earneſtly preſſing, as that which he thought would tend to the reconciling of all Parties, and to the Peace of the three Kingdoms, they permit-

ted him to offer it: The effect of which was, that he might meet the two Houſes in the Painted Chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which ſhould ſatisfy and ſecure all Intereſts; deſigning, as I have been ſince informed, to propoſe his own Reſignation, and the admiſſion of his Son to the Throne upon ſuch Terms as ſhould have been agreed upon. This Motion being new and unexpected to the Court, who were not willing to deny or grant any thing without ſerious Deliberation, they withdrew to conſider of it into the Inner Court of Wards; and being ſatisfied upon debate, that nothing but loſs of time would be the conſequence of it, they returned into the Court with a Negative to his Demand, telling him that they met there as a Court of Juſtice commiſſionated by the Parliament, of whoſe Authority they were fully ſatisfied: that by their Commiſſion they were not authorized to receive any Propoſals from him, but to proceed to the Trial of him; that in order thereto, his Charge had been read to him, to which if he would have pleaded, the Counſel for the Commonwealth were ready to have proved it againſt him: that he had thrice demurred to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which Demurrer the Court had overruled and regiſtred, ordering to proceed againſt him, as if he had confeſſed the Charge; and that if he had any Propoſition to make, it was proper for him to addreſs it to the Parliament, and not to them.

Then

Then the Prefident enlarged upon the horrid Nature of thofe Crimes, of which he had been accufed, and was now convicted; declaring that the only juft Power of Kings was derived from the Confent of the People: That whereas the People had intrufted him to fee their Laws put in Execution, he had endeavoured throughout the whole Courfe of his Reign to fubvert thofe good Laws, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government in the room of them: That to cut off all hopes of redrefs he had attempted from the beginning of his Reign, either wholly to deftroy Parliaments, or to render them only fubfervient to his own corrupt Defigns: That tho he had confented, the publick Neceffities fo requiring, that this Parliament fhould not be diffolved but by an Act of themfelves, he had levied War againft them, that he might not only diffolve them, but by the Terrour of his Power for ever difcourage fuch Affemblies from doing their Duty: That in this War many thoufands of the good People of *England* had loft their Lives: That in obedience to what God commanded, and the Nation expected, the Parliament had appointed this Court to make Inquifition for this Blood, and to try him for the fame: That his Charge had been read to him, and he required to give an Anfwer to it; which he having thrice refufed to do, he acquainted him that the Court had refolved to pronounce Sentence againft him, and thereupon commanded the

Clerk

Clerk to read it, which he did, being to this effect: That the King for the Crimes contained in the Charge, ſhould be carried back to the Place from whence he came, and thence to the Place of Execution, where his Head ſhould be ſevered from his Body: which Sentence being read, the Commiſſioners teſtified their unanimous Aſſent by their ſtanding up. The King would have ſpoken ſomething before he was withdrawn; but being accounted dead in Law immediately after Sentence pronounced, it was not permitted. The Court withdrew alſo, and agreed that the Sentence ſhould be put in Execution on the Tueſday following, which would be the 30*th* of *January* 1648. The King having refuſed ſuch Miniſters as the Court appointed to attend him, deſired that Dr. *Juxton* late Biſhop of *London* might be permitted to come to him; which being granted, and Adjutant General *Allen* ſent to acquaint the Doctor with the King's Condition and Deſires, he being altogether unprepared for ſuch a Work, broke out into theſe Expreſſions, *God ſave me, what a Trick is this, that I ſhould have no more Warning, and I have nothing ready!* but recollecting himſelf a little, he put on his Scarf and his other Furniture, and went with him to the King, where having read the Common Prayer and one of his old Sermons, he adminiſtred the Sacrament to him; not forgetting to uſe the Words of the Confeſſion ſet down in the Liturgy, inviting all thoſe that truly repent to

make

make their Confeſſion before the Congregation then gathered together; tho there was none preſent but the King and himſelf.

The High Court of Juſtice appointed a Committee to inſpect the Parts about *Whitehall* for a convenient place for the Execution of the King, who having made their Report, it was agreed that a Scaffold ſhould be erected to that purpoſe near the Banqueting-Houſe, and order given to cover it with black: The ſame day, being the 29*th* of *January*, they ſigned a Warrant for his Execution, to which about threeſcore of the Commiſſioners ſet their Hands and Seals, directing it to Col. *Hacker*, Col. *Hunks*, and Col. *Phaier*, or either of them. The Duke of *Gloceſter* and the Lady *Elizabeth* waited on the King the ſame day to take their leave of him. An Extraordinary Ambaſſador from the United Provinces had his Audience in the Parliament; his buſineſs was to intercede with them for the Life of the King, and to preſerve a fair Correſpondence between *England* and the States. The next day about eight in the Morning the King, attended by a Guard, was brought from St. *James*'s through the Park to *Whitehall*, where having drunk a Glaſs or two of red Wine, and ſtayed about two hours in a private Room, he was conducted to the Scaffold out of a Window of the Banqueting-houſe; and having made a Speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the Block, and the Executioner performed his Office. The Body

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was ordered to be interred at *Windsor* : The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquiſs of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with ſome others having Leave from the Parliament, attended it to the Grave.

A Report of the Proceedings of the High Court of Juſtice being made to the Parliament, they declared, That the Perſons imployed in that important Service had diſcharged their Truſt with Courage and Fidelity; that the Parliament was well ſatisfied with the Account of their Proceedings, ordering them to be engroſſed, and recorded amongſt the Parliament-Rolls, in order to tranſmit the Memory thereof to Poſterity; and reſolved that the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal ſhould iſſue a *Certiorari* to their Clerk to record thoſe Proceedings in the Chancery, and that the ſame ſhould be ſent to the other Courts at *Weſtminſter*, and to the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of each County. Judg *Jenkins*, Sir *John Stowel*, and divers other Perſons, who were Priſoners, and had carried themſelves very inſolently, now finding the Parliament to be in earneſt, began to come to a better Temper. Colonel *Middleton*, who was alſo a Priſoner at *Newcaſtle* upon Parole, ran away to *Scotland*; and being required to return, anſwered, That his Life was dearer to him than his Honour. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made his eſcape alſo; and Sir *Lewis Dives* through a Houſe of Office in *Whitehall*. The Lord *Capel* got out of the Tower; but being

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discovered by a Waterman as he crossed the *Thames*, he was seized in a House at *Lambeth*. Duke *Hamilton* also escaped out of *Windsor*-Castle, and came to *Southwark*; where knocking at the Door of an Inn, he was seized by a Souldier, who knew him, and was passing by that way; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The House of Lords becoming now the Subject of the Consideration and Debate of the Parliament, Lieutenant General *Cromwell* appeared for them, having already had a close Correspondence with many of them; and, it may be, presuming he might have farther use of them in those Designs he had resolved to carry on: but they not meeting in their House at the time to which they had adjourned, much facilitated their Removal; so that the Question being put, Whether the House of Commons should take Advice of the House of Lords in the Exercise of the Legislative Power, it was carried in the Negative, and thereupon resolved, *That the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished*; and an Act was soon after passed to that effect. After this they proceeded to declare, *That the Office of a King in this Nation is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the People, and therefore ought to be abolished*; *and that they will settle the Government of the Nation in the way of a Commonwealth.* To this end they ordered a Declaration to be published, whereby it was declared Treason

for

for any Person to endeavour to promote *Charles Stuart* to be King of *England*, or any other single Person to be chief Governour thereof: They also ordered the Great Seal, and other Seals, which had the Image of the late King on them, to be defaced; and appointed new ones to be made with the Stamp of the House of Commons on one side, accompanied with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England: On the other side was engraven the Cross and the Harp, being the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, *God with us:* Ordering all Writs formerly running in the King's Name, to be issued out *in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England. A High Court of Justice was constituted by Act of Parliament for the trying of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*. Duke *Hamilton* pleaded that he entred into *England* as an Enemy, being of another Nation, and born before the Act of Union, and consequently not to be tried by the Laws of this; besides he had surrendred himself upon Conditions. The rest of the Lords pleaded Articles also, and so did Sir *John Owen:* But that Allegation appeared to be of no weight by the Testimony of the General, in relation to the Lords *Goring* and *Capel*, and by the Evidence of Col. *Wayte* touching Duke *Hamilton*; the like being affirmed by other Witnesses against the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *John Owen:* for if there had

had been any Promiſe made to any of them, either implicitely or by word of Mouth, it could only extend to protect them from the Military, not the Civil Sword: And as to the Plea for Duke *Hamilton*, that he was born before the two Nations were united, it was anſwered that they tried him not as Duke *Hamilton*, but as Earl of *Cambridg*, in which Capacity he had ſate as a Peer of *England*, and therefore a Subject thereof: So that upon full Evidence they were all ſentenced by the Court, to have their Heads ſtruck off for High Treaſon, in levying War againſt the Parliament of *England*. Earneſt Solicitations and Petitions were made for them to the Parliament; but they thought not fit to reprieve the Duke, the Earl of *Holland*, or the Lord *Capel*. Touching the Lord *Goring* the Houſe was equally divided, and the Speaker having upon ſuch Occaſions the determining Voice, gave it for his Reprieve. Commiſſary General *Ireton* obſerving no Motion made for Sir *John Owen*, moved the Houſe to conſider that he was a Commoner, and therefore more properly to have been tried in another way by a Jury: whereupon the Houſe reprieved him alſo. The other three were executed a day or two after in the New Palace-Yard before *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in purſuance of a Warrant ſigned by the Court to that purpoſe, the Parliament refuſing to hearken to the Earl of *Denbigh*, who propoſed on the behalf of Duke *Hamilton* his Brother-in-law, to give them

them a Blank ſigned by the ſaid Duke, to anſwer faithfully to ſuch Queſtions as ſhould be there inſerted. The Parliament having reſolved to conſtitute a Council of State, the better to carry on the executive part of the Government, authorized five of their Members to agree upon the Number and Perſons of ſuch as they thought fit to be propoſed to the Parliament for their Approbation. The five impowered to this end by the Parliament, were Mr. *John Liſle*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, Mr. *Luke Robinſon*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, and Me, who tho ſenſible of my Unfitneſs for ſo great a Work, and of the Envy it would be attended with, yet being required by my Country to aſſiſt in this Service, I reſolved to uſe the beſt of my Endeavours therein. The Number agreed upon was thirty five, which we filled up with ſuch Perſons as we thought beſt qualified with Integrity and Abilities ſutable to ſo important a Station. Four of them were Lords, and the reſt Commoners. The Houſe agreed to our Report, only they were pleaſed to add us five to the number propoſed by us. The Parliament being deſirous to exclude from their Places thoſe who were likely to undo what they had done, and yet unwilling to loſe the Aſſiſtance of many honeſt Men, who had been in the Country during the late Tranſactions, paſſed an Order, that ſuch Members as had not ſate ſince the Trial of the King, ſhould not be admitted to ſit, till the Houſe ſhould be particularly ſatisfied

tisfied concerning them; appointing the former five, or any three of them, to be a Committee to receive Satisfaction touching the Affections to the Publick Interest, of every Member who had not sate since the time aforesaid, and the Reasons of his Absence; and to make their Report to the Parliament concerning them.

Prince *Charles* finding his Affairs in *England* to be in a desperate Condition, concluded an Agreement with the Irish Rebels; granting them full Indemnity for what they had hitherto acted, and encouraging them to carry on their Cruelties against the English by his Commission. The Lord *Inchequin* had already declared for him, and joined with the Irish Rebels. The Earl of *Ormond* was dispatched to *Ireland* for the same purpose; and as a Pledg that Prince *Charles* would follow, his Baggage and Horses were sent thither before.

The Scots fearing their Clergy would not be permitted long to insult over the People, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied with our Proceedings in *England*, and chose rather to espouse the Interest of Prince *Charles*, than to enjoy the Fruit of what they had contended for against his Father, publickly declaring that they were obliged by the Covenant to promote the Government of a King, Lords and Commons; which Government the Parliament of *England* had thought fit to alter. We endeavoured to satisfy their Commissioners, by shewing them the Reasons of our late Resolutions; but they

refuſing to hear them, returned home to their own Country, where they found things diſpoſed to an Accommodation with Prince *Charles*, upon preſumption that when by his Aſſiſtance they had deſtroyed the Sectarian Party, as they called them, they ſhould be able to govern him well enough: but he ſuppoſing he had an eaſier part to act with the Iriſh, whoſe Principles were more ſutable to his Inclinations, refuſed to hearken to them at that time.

Col. *Edward Popham*, Col. *Richard Dean*, and Col. *Robert Blake*, were appointed by the Parliament to command the Fleet; the latter being deſigned with a Squadron to cruiſe upon the Iriſh Coaſt, in order to meet and fight the Ships commanded by Prince *Rupert*. Col. *Popham* was ſent towards *Lisbon* to intercept the *Portugal* Fleet coming home from their Iſlands, becauſe they had protected ſome Ships that had revolted from us, and ſheltred them from our Fleet that was in purſuit of them, and had offered ſome Affronts to our Agent Mr. *Vane*, who was ſent thither to endeavour a right Underſtanding between the two Nations. General *Dean* with another Squadron was ordered to remain for the Service of the Channel. This they did, well underſtanding how great Reputation a conſiderable Fleet would give to their Affairs, and of what Importance it is to this Nation always to guard the Seas, and more particularly in that Conjuncture.

The Parliament much inclining to preſerve a good

good Correſpondence with the States General of the United Provinces, ſent Dr. *Doriſlaus* into *Holland* to be their Agent there, who, a little after his Arrival at the *Hague*, was aſſaulted by about ten Aſſaſſins, Engliſh and Scots, who broke into his Lodgings and murdered him: and tho this Action was ſo infamous, and contrary to the Right of Nations, yet the Dutch were not very forward to find out the Criminals in order to bring them to Juſtice.

Mr. *Aſcham* who was ſent into *Spain* with a Publick Character alſo, was uſed in the like manner, by three Perſons coming to his Houſe at *Madrid*, where pretending to be Engliſh Merchants, they were admitted; and as he ſaluted the firſt of them, was ſtruck into the Head by him with a Poniard; and his Secretary endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was killed with him. The Murderers took Sanctuary in a Church; but by an Order of State they were forced from thence, and committed to Priſon; of which the Church-men loudly complained, after their uſual manner, as an injurious violation of their Immunities. The Squadron commanded by Col. *Blake* being firſt ready, ſet ſail for the Iriſh Coaſt, where Prince *Rupert* thinking himſelf not in a condition to fight him, retired with his Ships into the Harbour of *Kingſale*, under the Protection of the Fort. Col. *Popham* was next diſpatched with his Squadron for *Portugal*, and was pleaſed to employ a Brother of mine as Lieutenant of that Ship, which

was commanded by himself. The Spanish Ambassador was the first that made application to us from any Foreign State. But the Parliament not being satisfied with the Address of his Credentials, refused to receive them till it should be directed *to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England: declaring, that tho they did not affect any flattering Titles, yet they resolved to have their Authority owned by all those who made their Addresses to them. With which the Court of *Spain* being made acquainted, the Ambassador received Instructions from the King his Master to that end, and framed the Direction according to our Desires.

Our Affairs beginning to acquire Reputation, and to carry a fair Probability of Success, divers Members of Parliament who had been long absent, addressed themselves to the Committee before-mentioned, in order to their admission to sit in Parliament, and some of them would not scruple to give any Satisfaction that was desired to the Questions proposed unto them; which were, *Whether they joined in, or approved that Vote, declaring the King's Concessions a Ground for a future Settlement? Whether they approved of the Proceedings against the King? and whether they would engage to be true to a Commonwealth Government?* But we apprehending such extraordinary Expulsions as had been lately used, to be extremely hazardous to the Publick Safety, made it our Endeavour to keep those from a Re-admission, who might necessitate ano-

another occaſion of uſing the like Remedy. And therefore, tho all poſſible Satisfaction were given in Words, we did, by weighing the former Deportment of every particular Member who preſented himſelf, deſire to be in ſome meaſure aſſured, that they would be true to what they promiſed, in caſe the Commonwealth Intereſt ſhould come to be diſputed, before we would report their Condition to the Houſe. Some of the Houſe of Lords having procured themſelves to be choſen by the People, ſat in Parliament upon the Foot of their Election: in which Number was *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, who being choſen by the Freeholders of the County of *Berks*, upon his admiſſion to the Houſe, ſigned the Engagement, as the reſt of the Members who ſat there had done; the Contents of which was, *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as it was eſtabliſhed without a King or Houſe of Lords.* The ſame Engagement was taken by the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Edward Howard*, when they took their Places in Parliament, after they had been elected to ſerve there.

Whilſt we were thus providing for our Security in *England*, our Affairs in *Ireland* had not the ſame Succeſs, the Earl of *Ormond* having reconciled the Engliſh in *Munſter* to the Supreme Council of the Iriſh Rebels, the Scots alſo in the North falling in with them againſt us: with whom ſome Gentlemen of thoſe Parts joined, tho they had engaged themſelves to the

contrary. Yet one thing happened tending very much to the preſervation of *Dublin*, and thoſe few Places that were kept for the Parliament, which was, that *Owen Roe O Neal* who was General of the Old Iriſh, as they were termed, could by no means be brought to a Conjunction with the Engliſh. Sir *Charles Coote* being beſieged in *London-derry*, agreed to ſupply the Beſiegers with Powder, upon their engaging to furniſh him with ſuch Proviſions as he wanted, which was performed on both ſides: and the Lord *Inchequin* who was beſieging *Dundalk* promiſed to do the like for Colonel *Monk*, who then commanded in that Place, upon the ſame Conditions; which was performed on *Monk*'s part; but as his Men were carrying off the Ammunition, they were fallen upon by a Party of *Inchequin*'s Horſe, the Ammunition taken away, and many of them killed. The Scots drawing about *Dundalk*, moſt of the Gariſon revolted to them; whereupon *Monk* delivered up the Place, upon condition that he ſhould be permitted to return into *England*: where being arrived, he met with a cold Reception from the Parliament, upon ſuggeſtion, that he had correſponded with the Iriſh Rebels.

About this time an Agent from *Owen Roe O Neal* came privately to *London*, and found out a way to acquaint the Council of State, that if they thought fit to grant him a ſafe Conduct, he would make ſome Propoſitions to them that would

would be for their Service. The Council, to avoid any Misconstruction of their Actions, refused to hear him; but appointed a Committee to speak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His Proposition was, that the Party commanded by *O Neal* should submit to, and act for the Parliament, if they might obtain Indemnity for what was passed, and Assurance of the Enjoyment of their Religion and Estates for the time to come. We asked him why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in Treaty with the King? He answered, that the King had broken his Word with them; for tho they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair Promises, yet when he could make better Terms with any other Party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him farther, Why they had not made their Application sooner? he told us, because such Men had been possessed of the Power, who had sworn their Extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the Interest of those in Authority to grant Liberty of Conscience; promising, that if such Liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a Commonwealth as any other Party, instancing in many Countries where they were so. We informed him, that it was our Opinion that the Council would not promise Indemnity to all that Party, they being esteemed to have been

the principal Actors in the bloody Maſſacre at the beginning of the Rebellion: Neither did we think that they would grant them the Liberty of their Religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the Publick Peace. The Council upon our Report of what had paſſed at the Conference, concurred with our Opinion; ſo that having no more to do with the Agent, he was required to depart within a limited time. The Earl of *Ormond*, General *Preſton*, and the Lord *Inchequin* beginning to draw their Forces towards *Dublin*, reſolved firſt to reduce *Tredah*: in order to which they ſent Col. *Worden* thither with a ſtrong Detachment of Horſe and Foot, who attempting to take it by Aſſault, entred with moſt of his Men, but was beat out again by an inconſiderable Number of ours. Notwithſtanding which the Gariſon wanting Men to defend their Works, their Proviſions alſo being almoſt conſumed, was obliged to capitulate, and ſurrender upon condition that the Souldiers ſhould have liberty to march to *Dublin*, the reſt to return home, and to enjoy Protection there.

Dundalk and *Tredagh* being ſurrendred to the Enemy, and *Dublin* threatned with a ſpeedy Siege by the Forces of the Royaliſts and Iriſh, combined together for the deſtruction of the Engliſh, the Parliament taking into their ſerious Conſideration the deplorable State of their diſtreſſed Friends, reſolved to ſend them Relief with all Expedition. In the mean time the Enemy

nemy marched towards *Dublin*, having ſent a Party of Horſe before to inveſt the Place, and to prevent any Relief from *Meath*-ſide; upon whoſe Approach Col. *Jones*, with the Forces he had with him, was obliged to retire to *Kilcullen*. A Party of Horſe from the Town made a Sally upon the Enemy, and were repulſed with ſome Loſs; but being reinforced from *England* by a Regiment of Horſe commanded by Col. *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot, Col. *Jones* being alſo come into the Town, they reſolved upon a vigorous Defence. Immediately after the landing of theſe Supplies, *Dublin* was formally beſieged by the Enemy, who had a great Army provided with all Neceſſaries for the carrying on of the Siege, and furniſhed by the Country with Proviſions in great abundance, their Head-quarters being at *Rathmims*, a Mile from *Dublin* towards *Wicklow*. They took *Rathfarnham* by ſtorm, and ſent fifteen hundred Men to fortify *Baggatrath*, in order to hinder our Army from landing at *Ringſend*, being within a quarter of a Mile of it, and lying triangular with it and *Dublin*. *Baggatrath* had a Rampart of Earth about it, and the Enemy had wrought upon it, to augment its Strength, a whole Night before they were diſcovered. But the next Morning Col. *Jones* perceiving their Deſign, concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to endeavour to remove them from thence before their Works were finiſhed. To that end he drew all his Forces both Horſe and

and Foot to the Works that faced the Enemy; and leaving as many as he thought neceſſary for the Defence of the Town, ſallied out with the reſt, being between four and five thouſand, and falling upon them, beat them from their Works, killing Sir *William Vaughan* who commanded them, and moſt of the Men that were with him, cloſely purſuing the reſt who fled towards their main Army, where the Earl of *Ormond* thought fit at laſt to throw down his Cards, which he had before refuſed to do, in contempt of our Forces; and with his Royal Army, as it was called, retreated in great Diſorder towards *Rathmims*: Col. *Jones* purſued him cloſe, finding little Oppoſition, except from a Party of the Lord *Inchequin*'s Horſe that had formerly ſerved the Parliament, who defended a Paſs for ſome time, but were after ſome Diſpute broken and forced to fly. Having routed theſe, he marched with all Diligence up to the Walls of *Rathmims*, which were about ſixteen Foot high, and contained about ten Acres of Ground, where many of the Enemies Foot had ſhut up themſelves; but perceiving their Army to be entirely routed, and their General fled, they yielded themſelves Priſoners. After this our Men continuing their Purſuit, found a Party of about two thouſand Foot of the Lord *Inchequin*'s, in a Grove belonging to *Rathgar*, who after ſome Defence obtained Conditions for their Lives, and the next day moſt of them took up Arms in our Service. This Succeſs was the

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more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides, our handful of Men being led ſtep by ſtep to an abſolute Victory, whereas their utmoſt Deſign at the beginning of the Action was only to beat the Enemy from *Baggatrath*: and ſo ſurprizing to our Enemies, that they had not time to carry off their Money, which lay at *Rathfarnham* for the paying of their Army, where Col. *Jones* ſeized four thouſand Pounds very ſeaſonably for the paiment of his Men.

The Parliament having an Army ready to ſend to *Ireland*, a formidable Fleet to put to Sea, another Army to keep at home for their own Defence, and a conſiderable Force to guard the North againſt the Scots, who had declared themſelves Enemies, and waited only an Opportunity of ſhewing it with Advantage, thought themſelves obliged to expoſe to ſale ſuch Lands as had been formerly poſſeſſed by Deans and Chapters, that they might be enabled thereby to defray ſome part of that great Charge that lay upon the Nation. To this end they authorized Truſtees to ſell the ſaid Lands, provided they could do it at ten Years Purchaſe, at the leaſt; but ſuch was the good Opinion that the People had conceived of the Parliament, that moſt of thoſe Lands were ſold at the clear Income of fifteen, ſixteen, and ſeventeen Years; one half of the Sums contracted for being paid down in ready Money: beſides which the Woods were valued diſtinctly, and to be paid for according to the Valuation.

tion. All Impropriations belonging to the ſaid Deans and Chapters, as well as thoſe of the Biſhops, either in Poſſeſſion or Reverſion, were reſerved from ſale to enlarge the Maintenance of poor Miniſters. Yet this was not ſufficient to reſtrain that Generation of Men from inveighing againſt the Parliament, and conſpiring with their Enemies both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and if poſſible to render them unable to carry on the Publick Service. The Fee-farm Rents formerly belonging to the Crown, were alſo ſold; and yet ſuch was the neceſſity of Affairs, that notwithſtanding all this the Parliament found themſelves obliged to lay a Tax of a hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds a Month upon the Nation; which Burden they bore for the moſt part without regret, being convinced that it was wholly applied to the Uſe of the Publick, and eſpecially becauſe thoſe who impoſed it paid an equal Proportion with the reſt. The Crown-Lands were aſſigned to pay the Arrears of thoſe Souldiers who were in Arms in the Year 1647. which was done by the Influence of the Officers of the Army that was in preſent Service, whereby they made Proviſion for themſelves, and neglected thoſe who had appeared for the Parliament at the firſt, and had endured the Heat and Burden of the day.

In the Month of *September*, 1649, the Army embarked and ſet ſail for *Ireland*; Commiſſary General *Ireton* with one part of them deſigning for

for *Munſter*, and Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, being appointed Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with the reſt, for *Dublin*: But the Wind blowing a ſtrong Gale from the South, they were both put into the Bay of *Dublin*, where they were received with great Joy: for tho the Enemies Army had been beaten from the Siege of that Place, and Col. *Jones* with the ſmall Forces he had with him had made the beſt Improvement he could of that Advantage, by reducing ſome Gariſons that lay neareſt to him; yet the Enemies were ſtill in poſſeſſion of nine Parts in ten of that Nation, and had fortified the moſt conſiderable Places therein. After our Army had refreſhed themſelves, and were joined by the Forces of Col. *Jones*, they muſtered in all between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand Horſe and Foot. Upon their Arrival the Enemies withdrew, and put moſt of their Army into their Gariſons, having placed three or four thouſand of the beſt of their Men, being moſt Engliſh, in the Town of *Tredah*, and made Sir *Arthur Aſhton* Governour thereof. A Reſolution being taken to beſiege that Place, our Army ſat down before it, and the Lieutenant General cauſed a Battery to be erected againſt an Angle of the Wall, near to a Fort, which was within, called the *Windmill-Fort*, by which he made a Breach in the Wall; but the Enemy having a Half-moon on the Out-ſide, which was deſigned to flank the Angle of the Wall, he thought fit to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which he did

did by ſtorm, putting moſt of thoſe that were in it to the Sword. The Enemy defended the Breach againſt ours from behind an Earth-work, which they had caſt up within, and where they had drawn up two or three Troops of Horſe which they had within the Town, for the Encouragement and Support of their Foot: The Fort alſo was not unſerviceable to them in the defence of the Breach. The Lieutenant General well knowing the Importance of this Action, reſolved to put all upon it; and having commanded ſome Guns to be loaded with Bullets of half a Pound, and fired upon the Enemies Horſe, who were drawn up ſomewhat in view; himſelf with a Reſerve of Foot marched up to the Breach, which giving freſh Courage to our Men, they made a ſecond Attack with more Vigour than before: Whereupon the Enemies Foot being abandoned by their Horſe, whom our Shot had forced to retire, began to break and ſhift for themſelves; which ours perceiving, followed them ſo cloſe, that they overtook them at the Bridg that lay croſs the River, and ſeparated that part where the Action was from the principal part of the Town; and preventing them from drawing up the Bridg, entred pell-mell with them into the Place, where they put all they met with to the Sword, having poſitive Orders from the Lieutenant General to give no quarter to any Souldier. Their Works and Fort were alſo ſtormed and taken, and thoſe that defended them

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put to the Sword alſo, and amongſt them Sir *Arthur Aſhton*, Governour of the Place. A great Diſpute there was amongſt the Souldiers for his Artificial Leg, which was reported to be of Gold, but it proved to be but of Wood, his Girdle being found to be the better Booty, wherein two hundred Pieces of Gold were found quilted. The Slaughter was continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary Severity I preſume was uſed, to diſcourage others from making Oppoſition. After that the Army beſieged *Wexford*, and having erected a Battery againſt the Caſtle, which ſtood near the Wall of the Town, and fired from it moſt part of the day, whereby a ſmall Breach was made; Commiſſioners were ſent in the Evening from the Enemy to treat about the Surrender of it. In the mean time our Guns continued firing, there being no Ceſſation agreed, whereby the Breach in the Caſtle being made wider, the Guard that was appointed to defend it quitted their Poſt, and thereupon ſome of our Men entred the Caſtle, and ſet up their Colours at the top of it, which the Enemy having obſerved, left their Stations in all parts: ſo that ours getting over the Walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town without Oppoſition, and opened the Gates that the Horſe might enter, tho they could do but little Service, all the Streets being barred with Cables: But our Foot preſſed the Enemy ſo cloſe, that crowding to eſcape over the Water, they ſo over-loaded

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the Boats with their Numbers, that many of them were drowned. Great Riches were taken in this Town, it being accounted by the Enemy a Place of Strength; and ſome Ships were ſeized in the Harbour, which had much interrupted the Commerce of that Coaſt. Commiſſioners were appointed by the Lieutenant General to take care of the Goods that were found in the Town belonging to the Rebels, that they might be improved to the beſt Advantage of the Publick. After theſe Succeſſes the Army grew ſickly, many dying of the Flux, which they contracted by hard Service, and ſuch Proviſions as they were not accuſtomed to. The Plague alſo which had been for ſome time amongſt the Inhabitants of the Country, and the Iriſh Army, now began to ſeize upon ours. Of one or both theſe Diſtempers Col. *Michael Jones*, who by his Courage and Conduct in the Service of his Country, had juſtly deſerved the Applauſe of all, and had been lately made Lieutenant General of the Horſe by the Parliament, fell ſo deſperately ſick, that being no longer able to continue in the Army, he was carried, not without Reluctancy, to *Wexford*, where in a few days he died, much lamented by the Army, and by all that deſired the Proſperity of the Engliſh Intereſt. In the mean time the Parliament was careful to ſend Money, Recruits, and all manner of Supplies neceſſary to *Ireland*; which they were the better enabled to do by thoſe great

great Sums of Money daily brought in by the Purchasers of the Lands of Deans and Chapters, which they thought fit for the Reasons before-mentioned to expose to sale; which as it was an Advantage to the Nation in general, by easing them of some part of their Contributions, so was it no Detriment to any of those Purchasers who were heartily engaged in the Publick Service; since if the Tide should turn, and our Enemies become prevalent, such Persons were likely to have no better Security for the Enjoyment of their own Paternal Estates. Upon this Consideration I contracted with the Trustees commissionated by the Parliament, for the Mannors of *Eastknoel* and *Upton* in the County of *Wilts*, wherein I employed that Portion which I had received with my Wife, and a greater Sum arising from the Sale of a part of my Patrimonial Estate.

The Winter approaching, and the Season being very tempestuous, General *Blake* was obliged to enter into Harbour, by which means Prince *Rupert* with the Ships that were with him having an Opportunity to escape, set sail for *Lisbon*, where they were received and protected; but General *Popham* who had waited some time for the *Portugal* Fleet bound thither from the Islands, took eighteen of them loaden with Sugars and other valuable Merchandizes, which he sent to *England* under a Convoy, entrusting the Conduct thereof to my Brother, who, as I said before, was his Lieutenant, and

died in his Voyage homewards. With the reſt he continued cruizing on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, attending Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, which being drawn up under the Protection of their Guns, and moſt of the Men on ſhore, ours took that occaſion to ſeize one of their Frigats, by ſurprizing the Watch, and keeping the reſt of the Men under Deck; by which means they brought her off ſafe to the Fleet.

Our Army in *Ireland*, tho much diminiſhed by Sickneſs and haraſſed by hard Duty, continued their Reſolution to march into the Enemies Quarters, where they reduced *Roſſe* with little Oppoſition: *Goran* alſo was ſurrendred to them, together with the Officers of that Place, by the Souldiers of the Gariſon, upon promiſe of Quarter for themſelves; their Officers being delivered at Diſcretion, were ſhot to death. The next Town they beſieged was *Kilkenny*, where there was a ſtrong Caſtle, and the Walls of the Town were indifferent good: Having erected a Battery on the Eaſt-ſide of the Wall, our Artillery fired upon it for a whole Day without making any conſiderable Breach; on the other ſide our Men were much annoyed by the Enemies ſhot from the Walls and Caſtle. But the Gariſon being admoniſhed by the Examples made of their Friends at *Tredah* and *Wexford*, thought fit to ſurrender the Town timely, upon ſuch Conditions as they could obtain, which was done accordingly. *Toughall*, *Cork* and *Kinſale* were delivered to the Forces of the

Parliament by the Contrivance and Diligence of ſome Officers and well-affected Perſons in thoſe Places; and thereupon the Lieutenant General ſent a Detachment under the Command of the Lord *Broghil* to their Aſſiſtance, in caſe any thing ſhould be attempted by *Inchequin*, or any other, to their Diſturbance; whilſt he with the reſt of the Army marched towards *Clonmel*. Being upon his March thither, he was met by the Corporation of *Feather*, with a Tender of their Submiſſion, wherewith the Lieutenant General was ſo ſatisfied, the Army being far advanced into the Enemies Quarters, and having no place of Refreſhment, that he promiſed to maintain them in the Enjoyment of their Privileges. Having left our ſick Men here, he marched and ſat down before *Clonmel*, one ſide of which was ſecured by a River, and the reſt of the Town encompaſſed with a Wall that was well furniſhed with Men to defend it. Our Guns having made a Breach in the Wall, a Detachment of our Men was ordered to ſtorm; but the Enemy by the means of ſome Houſes that ſtood near, and Earth-works caſt up within the Wall, made good their Breach till Night parted the Diſpute, when the Enemy perceiving ours reſolved to reduce the Place, beat a Parley, and ſent out Commiſſioners to treat. Articles were agreed and ſigned on both ſides, whereby it was concluded, that the Town with all the Arms and Ammunition therein, ſhould be delivered up the next Morn-

ing to ſuch of our Forces as ſhould be appointed to receive the ſame. After this Agreement was made and ſigned, the General was informed that Col. *Hugh O Neal* Governour of the Place, with all the Gariſon, had marched out at the beginning of the Night towards *Waterford*, before the Commiſſioners came out to treat. It ſomething troubled the Commanders to be thus over-reach'd; but Conditions being granted, they thought it their Duty to keep them with the Town. *Dungarvan* and *Carrick* were next reduced, where Col. *Reynolds* being left with his Regiment of Horſe, the Lieutenant-General with the Army marched towards the County of *Waterford*. The Enemy having obſerved ours marching on the other ſide of the River, took that Advantage to draw together a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, with which they marched with all diligence to *Carrick*, and ſtormed it, not at all doubting to carry the Place, wherein there was nothing but Horſe, armed only with Swords and Piſtols, to defend a Wall of great compaſs. Yet did our Men manage their Defence ſo well, making uſe of Stones and whatſoever might be ſerviceable to them, that the Enemy was beaten off with loſs; ſo that tho Forces were ſent from the Army to relieve their Friends upon the firſt notice of their Danger, yet they found the Work done at their Arrival.

The Army began now to prepare for the Siege of *Waterford*, but by the hard Service of this

this Winter, and other Accidents, being much diminiſhed, and thoſe that remained being but in a ſickly Condition, it was thought fit to ſend Orders to *Dublin*, requiring the Forces there who were in better Health to march towards *Wexford* in order to reinforce the Army before *Waterford*. The Lord *Inchequin*, who had notice of their March, having formed a Body of two thouſand five hundred Horſe, and ſome Foot, reſolved to fall upon them, which he did between *Arclo* and *Wexford*, our Forces not amounting to more than fifteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe. The Enemies charged our Horſe with ſuch Fury and Numbers, that they were forced to retreat to their Foot; after which falling upon our Foot, they obliged them to retire to the Rocks that were on the Shore in great Diſorder: but ſome of our Horſe, with a part of our Foot, rallying again, charged a Body of their Horſe with ſuch Vigour, that they broke them, and killed many of them, amongſt whom were divers conſiderable Perſons; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt, that tho they were the choiceſt of the Enemies Men, and many of ours ſo diſtempered with the Flux, that they were forced to fight with their Breeches down, yet durſt they not make any farther Attempt againſt them, but drew off and permitted ours to march to their deſigned Rendezvouz without any more Interruption. By which it eminently appeared of what Importance it is towards the obtaining Succeſs, to

fight in the Cauſe of our Country ; for theſe very Men, as long as they were engaged with us, performed Wonders againſt the Rebels ; and now being engaged with them, were almoſt as eaſily overcome as they had beaten the Iriſh before : and this was ſo viſible even to the Iriſh themſelves, that ſome time after at a Conſultation of the chief Officers of *Leinſter*, where it was debated what Courſe to take in order to deſtroy our Army, ſome adviſing to draw into a Body and fight us, others to betake themſelves to the Woods and Bogs, and from thence to break our Forces by Parties ; the Lord of *Glanmaleiro* aſſured them of a way, which, if taken, would certainly effect it, and that was to induce us to make Peace with them ; for, ſaid he, they are a ſucceſsful Army, and our Men are diſpirited, and not likely to get any thing by fighting with them ; and to weary them out by our Surprizes and Depredations is impoſſible, as long as the way from *England* is open for their Supplies ; but the other way propoſed will infallibly ruin them : for did not our Anceſtors by the ſame means render the Conqueſts of Queen *Elizabeth* fruitleſs to *England?* and have we not thereby ruined the Earl of *Ormond* and *Inchequin* already, who having been always ſucceſsful when againſt us, have been famous for nothing ſince their Conjunction with us, but the Loſſes and Repulſes which they have ſuſtained? ſo that if we can perſwade this Army to make a Truce or League with

with us, they will become as unfortunate as the former.

Whilſt the Lieutenant General was making Preparations for the Siege of *Waterford*, a Letter was brought to him from the Parliament, requiring his Attendance in *England*: In order to which he left the Command of the Army with Commiſſary General *Ireton*, to carry on the remaining part of the Work; going himſelf to viſit thoſe Places in *Munſter* which had lately ſubmitted to the Parliament, with intention to ſettle the Civil as well as Military Affairs of that Province. To this end he impowered *John Coke* Eſq; to be Chief Juſtice of *Munſter*; and having accompliſhed ſuch things as he deſigned, embarked for *England*, and ſoon after landed at *Briſtol*. In the mean time the Treaty between Prince *Charles* and the Presbyterian Party in *Scotland* haſtening towards a Concluſion, the Forces which they had raiſed by the Encouragement of our Army, after they had reſcued them from the Power of the *Hamiltonian* Party, fell upon *Montroſe*, killed many of his Men, and took him with divers other Officers Priſoners, and amongſt them Major General *Hurry* and Capt. *Spotiſwood*, who was ſaid to have been concerned in the Aſſaſſination of Dr. *Doriſlaus* our Agent in *Holland*. They were all three condemned to death, and hanged; *Montroſe* being carried to the Place of Execution in an ignominious manner, with the Declarations iſſued out by him for the King

tied about his Neck, where he was executed on a Gibbet of thirty Foot high. His Quarters were placed upon the Gate through which their King was to pass at his coming to *Edinburgh*, which could not but move his Indignation, if he had the least Sense of Honour, because he had acted by his Commission, and in order to vest him with that absolute and uncontrolable Power which Kings think to be most for their Advantage: but the King being instructed with other Maxims, struck up the bargain with the Presbyterians, and engaged to take the Covenant, whereupon they cried him up for a great Convert.

Some Sycophants in the English Parliament, a Race of Men never wanting in great Councils, pressed earnestly for settling two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year upon the Lieutenant General, according to a Vote formerly passed in the House; or that it might at least be read once or twice before his Arrival at *Westminster*, he being then upon his way from *Bristol*. Upon this Motion I took the liberty to acquaint the House, that tho I would not oppose that Motion, yet it was but reasonable to make good their Promises also to Persons that had served them usefully in former occasions, desiring them to remember the past Services of those that they knew continued still to be faithful to them, tho not then in actual Employment; and particularly not to forget the important Services of Major General *Skippon*, nor the

the Vote they had paſſed to ſettle one thouſand Pounds a Year upon him, which hitherto had been inſignificant to him. Upon this Motion the Parliament ordered that the ſaid Sum ſhould be paid yearly to him out of the Receipt at Goldſmiths-Hall, till ſo much ſhould be ſettled upon him out of the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* by Act of Parliament. In conſideration of this piece of Juſtice, the Major General did me ever after the Honour to call me his Real Friend.

And now the Parliament being deſirous to let the People ſee that they deſigned not to perpetuate themſelves after they ſhould be able to make a compleat Settlement of Affairs, and provide for the Security of the Nation from Enemies both abroad and at home, whom they had yet in great Numbers to contend with, reſolved that the Houſe would upon every Wedneſday turn themſelves into a Grand Committee, to debate concerning the manner of Aſſembling, and Power of future ſucceſſive Parliaments; the Number of Perſons to be appointed to ſerve for each County, that the Nation might be more equally repreſented than hitherto had been practiſed; and touching the Qualifications of the Electors as well as thoſe to be elected: which Order was conſtantly obſerved, and conſiderable Progreſs from time to time made therein.

The Lieutenant General being arrived, and having reſumed his Place in the Houſe, the Parliament ordered their Speaker to give him Thanks

Thanks in their Name for the Services he had done for the Commonwealth in the Nation of *Ireland*. And now the Council of State concluding it highly neceſſary to make ſome Preparations againſt the Storm which threatned us from the North, and knowing that the Satisfaction of their General was of great Importance to that Service, deſired the Lord *Fairfax* to declare his Reſolution concerning the ſame, who after a day or two's Conſideration, at the Inſtigation chiefly (as was thought) of his Wife, upon whom the Presbyterian Clergy had no ſmall Influence, ſeemed unwilling to march into *Scotland*; but declared, that in caſe the Scots ſhould attempt to invade *England*, he would be ready to lay down his Life in oppoſing them. We laboured to perſwade him of the Reaſonableneſs and Juſtice of our Reſolution to march into *Scotland*, they having already declared themſelves our Enemies, and by publick Proteſtation bound themſelves to impoſe that Government upon us, which we had found neceſſary to aboliſh; and to that end had made their Terms with Prince *Charles*, waiting only an Opportunity, as ſoon as they had ſtrengthned themſelves by foreign Aſſiſtance, which they expected, to put their Deſign in execution, after we ſhould be reduced to great Difficulties incident to the keeping up of an Army in expectation of being invaded by them; aſſuring him, that we thought our ſelves indiſpenſably obliged in Duty to our Country, and

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as we tendred the Peace and Prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the Blood of those who had been, and we hoped upon better Information would be our Friends, to march into *Scotland*, and either to understand from them that they are our Friends, or to endeavour to make them so; chusing rather to make that Country the Seat of the War than our own. But the Lord *Fairfax* was unwilling to alter his Resolution in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this Lieutenant General *Cromwell* pressed, that notwithstanding the Unwillingness of the Lord *Fairfax* to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be General of the Army; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his Post, than to command the greatest Army in *Europe*. But the Council of State not approving that Advice, appointed a Committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the General in order to his Satisfaction. This Committee was appointed upon the Motion of the Lieutenant General, who acted his part so to the Life, that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the Committee out of the Council-Chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in Compliment and Humility obstruct the Service of the Nation by his Refusal; but the Consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such Intention. The Committee having spent some time

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in Debate with the Lord *Fairfax* without any Succeſs, returned to the Council of State, whereupon they ordered the Report of this Affair to be made to the Parliament. Which being done, and ſome of the General's Friends informing them, that tho he had ſhewed ſome Unwillingneſs to be employed in this Expedition himſelf, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had ſent his Secretary, who attended at the door, to ſurrender his Commiſſion, if they thought fit to receive it; the Secretary was called in, and delivered the Commiſſion, which the Parliament having received, they proceeded to ſettle an annual Revenue of five thouſand Pounds upon the Lord *Fairfax*, in conſideration of his former Services, and then voted Lieutenant General *Cromwell* to be Captain General of all their Land Forces, ordering a Commiſſion forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the Council of State to haſten the Preparations for the Northern Expedition. A little after, as I ſat in the Houſe near General *Cromwell*, he told me, that having obſerved an Alteration in my Looks and Carriage towards him, he apprehended that I had entertained ſome Suſpicions of him; and that being perſwaded of the Tendency of the Deſigns of us both to the Advancement of the Publick Service, he deſired that a Meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom diſcover the Grounds of our Miſtakes and Miſapprehenſions,

prehenſions, and create a good Underſtanding between us for the future. I anſwered, that he had diſcovered in me what I had never perceived in my ſelf; and that if I troubled him not ſo frequently as formerly, it was either becauſe I was conſcious of that weight of Buſineſs that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account; yet ſince he was pleaſed to do me the Honour to deſire a free Converſation with me, I aſſured him of my Readineſs therein. Whereupon we reſolved to meet that Afternoon in the Council of State, and from thence to withdraw to a private Room, which we did accordingly in the Queen's Guard-Chamber, where he endeavoured to perſwade me of the Neceſſity incumbent upon him to do ſeveral things that appeared extraordinary in the Judgment of ſome Men, who in oppoſition to him took ſuch Courſes as would bring Ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the Publick Cauſe, affirming his Intentions to be directed entirely to the Good of the People, and profeſſing his Readineſs to ſacrifice his Life in their Service. I freely acknowledged my former Diſſatisfaction with him and the reſt of the Army, when they were in Treaty with the King, whom I looked upon as the only Obſtruction to the Settlement of the Nation; and with their Actions at the Rendezvouz at *Ware*, where they ſhot a Souldier to Death, and impriſoned divers others upon the account of that

Treaty,

Treaty, which I conceived to have been done without Authority, and for ſiniſter ends: yet ſince they had manifeſted themſelves convinced of thoſe Errors, and declared their Adherence to the Commonwealth, tho too partial a hand was carried both by the Parliament and themſelves in the diſtribution of Preferments and Gratuities, and too much Severity exerciſed againſt ſome who had formerly been their Friends, and as I hoped would be ſo ſtill, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accompliſhment of thoſe good things which I expected, till they had overcome the Difficulties they now laboured under, and ſuppreſſed their Enemies that appeared both at home and abroad againſt them; hoping that then their Principles and Intereſt would lead them to do what was moſt agreeable to the Conſtitution of a Commonwealth, and the Good of Mankind. He owned my Diſſatisfaction with the Army whilſt they were in Treaty with the King, to be founded upon good Reaſons, and excuſed the execution done upon the Souldier at the Rendezvouz, as abſolutely neceſſary to keep things from falling into Confuſion; which muſt have enſued upon that Diviſion, if it had not been timely prevented. He profeſſed to deſire nothing more than that the Government of the Nation might be ſettled in a free and equal Commonwealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the

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Old Family and Government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the Design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of his People from every Burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was propheſied in the 110*th* Pſalm; from the conſideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting thoſe Ends, ſpending at leaſt an hour in the Expoſition of that Pſalm, adding to this, that it was his Intention to contribute the utmoſt of his Endeavours to make a thorow Reformation of the Clergy and Law: but, ſaid he, the Sons of *Zerviah* are yet too ſtrong for us; and we cannot mention the Reformation of the Law, but they preſently cry out, We deſign to deſtroy *Propriety:* Whereas the Law, as it is now conſtituted, ſerves only to maintain the Lawyers, and to encourage the Rich to oppreſs the Poor; affirming that Mr. *Coke*, then Juſtice in *Ireland*, by proceeding in a ſummary and expeditious way, determined more Cauſes in a Week, than *Weſtminſter-Hall* in a Year; ſaying farther, that *Ireland* was as a clean Paper in that Particular, and capable of being governed by ſuch Laws as ſhould be found moſt agreeable to Juſtice; which may be ſo impartially adminiſtred, as to be a good Precedent even to *England* it ſelf; where when they once perceive Propriety preſerved at an eaſy and cheap rate in *Ireland*, they will never permit themſelves to be ſo cheated and abuſed as now they are. At laſt he fell into the Conſideration

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of the Military Government of *Ireland*, complaining that the whole Weight of it lay upon Major General *Ireton*; and that if he ſhould by Death or any other Accident be removed from that Station, the Conduct of that Part would probably fall into the hands of ſuch Men as either by Principle or Intereſt were not proper for that Truſt, and of whom he had no certain Aſſurance. He therefore propoſed that ſome Perſon of Reputation and known Fidelity might be ſent over to command the Horſe there, and to aſſiſt the Major General in the Service of the Publick, that Employment being next in order to his own, deſiring me to propoſe one whom I thought ſufficiently qualified for that Station. I told him, that in my Opinion a fitter Man could not be found than Col. *Algernon Sidney*; but he excepted againſt him by reaſon of his Relation to ſome who were in the King's Intereſt, propoſing Col. *Norton* and Col. *Hammond*, yet making Objections againſt them at the ſame time: That againſt Col. *Hammond* I remember was, that by his late Deportment with relation to the King, he had ſo diſobliged the Army, that he apprehended he would not be acceptable to them. After this he entred upon a large Commendation of the Country, and preſſed me earneſtly to think of ſome Perſon capable of that Employment. By this time I perceived ſomething of his Intentions concerning me; but the Condition of my Affairs was ſuch, having lately married, and by purchaſing

ſome

ſome Lands contracted a great Debt, that I reſolved not to accept of it.

The time for the General's Departure for the Expedition of *Scotland* drawing near, he moved the Council of State, that ſince they had employed him about a Work which would require all his Care, they would be pleaſed to eaſe him of the Affairs of *Ireland*; which they refuſing to do, he then moved, that they would at leaſt ſend over ſome Commiſſioners for the Management of the Civil Affairs, aſſuring them alſo that the Military being more than Major General *Ireton* could poſſibly carry on, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome General Officer to command the Horſe, which Employment was become vacant by the Death of the brave Lieutenant General *Jones*, it was abſolutely neceſſary to commiſſionate ſome Perſon of Worth to that Employment, and to authorize him to be one of their Commiſſioners for the Civil Government; telling them, that he had endeavoured to find out a Perſon proper for that Service, and to that end had conſulted with one there preſent, deſiring him to recommend one fit for the ſame; but that neither of them had propoſed any that he could approve ſo well as the Perſon himſelf, and therefore moved that he might be appointed to that Employment; acquainting them, that tho he himſelf was impowered by virtue of his Commiſſion from the Parliament, to nominate the Lieutenant General of the Horſe, yet becauſe the Gentleman he propoſed, upon

which he named me, was a Member of Parliament, and of the Council of State, he desired for the better securing the Obedience of the Army to me, that the Parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint me to that Charge. I endeavoured as well as I could to make the Council sensible of my Unfitness for an Employment of so great Importance, acquainting them, that upon the General's Desire I had recommended one to him of such Abilities, as I doubted not they would judg better qualified for it than my self, who besides my want of Experience sufficient for that Service, was so incumbred with Debts and Engagements at that time, that I could not possibly undertake it without hazarding the Ruin of my Family and Estate. But the Council refused to allow my Excuse, which indeed was real and unfeigned; telling me, that it would be more proper to represent those things to the Parliament, when the Report should be made to them from the Council: which was agreed upon to this effect; *That the House should be moved to appoint me Lieutenant General of the Horse in* Ireland; *and that General* Cromwell, *Major General* Ireton, *my self, Col.* John Jones, *and Major* Richard Salloway, *or any three of us, should be authorized by Act of Parliament to be Commissioners for the Administration of the Civil Affairs in that Nation.* The News of this Transaction was unwelcome to some of my neareſt Relations and best Friends, not only for the

the Reaſons above-mentioned, but upon ſuſpicion that this Opportunity was taken by the General to remove me out of the way, leſt I ſhould prove an Obſtruction to his Deſigns. But I could not think my ſelf ſo conſiderable, and therefore could not concur with them in that Opinion. Yet I endeavoured to clear my ſelf of this Employment, and knowing that this Affair was carried on chiefly by the General's Influence, I applied my ſelf to him, acquainting him with my preſent Circumſtances, and aſſuring him that it was altogether inconvenient, and might prove very prejudicial to me. He replied, that Mens private Affairs muſt give place to thoſe of the Publick; that he had ſeriouſly conſidered the Matter, and that he could not find a Perſon ſo fit for thoſe Employments as my ſelf, deſiring me therefore to acquieſce. It was not many days before the Council of State made their Report of this Affair to the Parliament, where I again preſſed the Reaſons I had uſed before to the Council with as much Earneſtneſs as I could: But they would not hearken to me, and without any Debate, preſently concurred with the Council therein, with the addition only of Mr. *John Weaver*, a Member of the Houſe, to be one of the Commiſſioners appointed to manage the Civil Government.

In the mean time our Army proceeded ſucceſsfully in *Ireland*, where they reduced *Waterford* after a Siege of ſome Weeks; which

Place the Enemy had conſiderably fortified: but their Proviſions failing, they were forced to ſurrender it upon Articles. During this Siege the Army was ſupplied with all Neceſſaries by ſome of our Ships that came into the Harbour to that end. After the reduction of *Waterford* a Detachment was made from our Army to beſiege *Duncannon*, a Place of conſiderable Strength, having ſeven hundred Men within to defend it, tho one third of their Number had been ſufficient for that purpoſe. This or ſome other Cauſe produced the Plague amongſt them, which leſſened their Number, and made their Proviſions to hold out the longer: yet at laſt they were conſtrained to deliver up the Place with all the Arms and Ammunition to our Men. The Lord of *Eſmond* had been Governour of this Place for the Engliſh at the beginning of the War, and held it out for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven Months againſt the Rebels, of whom he killed great Numbers before it during the Siege that he ſuſtained; but being driven to great Extremities, he was obliged to ſurrender it to them; which went ſo near the gallant old Gentleman's Heart, that he ſoon after departed this Life.

The next Place our Army attempted was *Carlo*, an inland Gariſon, diſtant from *Dublin* about thirty Miles, and lying upon the River *Barrow*. The Place was eſteemed by the Enemy to be of great Importance, and therefore fortified by them with divers Works; beſides,

it had a ſmall Caſtle at the foot of the Bridg, and a River running under the Walls of the Caſtle. The Country beyond it were alſo their Friends, and furniſhed them with Proviſions in great abundance. To prevent which, Major General *Ireton* found it neceſſary to employ the principal part of his Forces on the other ſide of the River *Barrow*; yet by what means to ſecure a Communication between the two parts of his Army, was a great Difficulty, they having neither Boats nor Casks ſufficient for that purpoſe. In the end they fell upon this Expedient, to bring together great Quantities of the biggeſt Reeds, and tying them up in many little Bundles with ſmall Cords, they faſtned them to two Cables that were fixed in the Ground on each ſide of the River, at the diſtance of about eight or ten Yards from each other: Theſe being covered with Wattles, bore Troops of Horſe and Companies of Foot as well as a Bridg arched with Stone.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, moſt of the Earl of *Ormond*'s Forces retired into *Connaught*, and thoſe of the Lord *Muskerry* into *Kerry*: the Lord *Caſtlehaven* alſo after he had fired moſt of the ſmall Caſtles in *Leinſter* and *Munſter*, marched out of thoſe Parts.

But the Enemy which moſt threatned the Diſturbance of the Parliament, was that of *Scotland*, where all Intereſts were united in oppoſition to the preſent Authority in *England*. They had alſo many who favoured their Deſign

in our Nation, as well Presbyterians as Cavaliers: the former of these were most bold and active, upon presumption of more Favour in case of ill Success. The Parliament being sensible of these things, published a Declaration, shewing, that they had no Design to impose upon the Nation of *Scotland* any thing contrary to their Inclinations: That they would leave them to chuse what Government they thought most convenient for themselves, provided they would suffer the English Nation to live under that Establishment which they had chosen: That it evidently appeared that the Scots were acted by a Spirit of Domination and Rule; and that nothing might be wanting to compel us to submit to their Impositions, they had espoused the Interests of that Family, which they themselves had declared guilty of much precious Blood, and resolved to force the same upon *England:* That these and other things there mentioned had obliged them to send an Army into *Scotland* for their own Preservation, and to keep the Scots from destroying themselves, which they were about to do; resolving notwithstanding to extend all possible Favour to such as were seduced through Weakness, and misled by the Malice of others. After this General *Cromwell* hastned to the Army, which consisted of about twenty thousand Horse and Foot, where having removed a Colonel or two, with some inferiour Officers, who were unwilling to be employed in that Service, and made

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up a Regiment for Col. *Monk*, with ſix Companies out of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s, and ſix out of Col. *Fenwick*'s Regiment, he marched into *Scotland* without any Oppoſition, moſt of the People being fled from their Habitations towards *Edinburgh*, whither all the Enemies Strength was drawn together. The Engliſh Army drew up within ſight of the Town, but the Scots would not hazard all by the deciſion of a Battel, hoping to tire us out with frequent Skirmiſhes and haraſſing our Men, relying much upon the Unſutableneſs of the Climate to our Conſtitutions, eſpecially if they ſhould detain us in the Field till Winter. Their Counſels ſucceeded according to their Deſires, and our Army through hard Duty, ſcarcity of Proviſions, and the Rigour of the Seaſon, grew very ſickly, and diminiſhed daily, ſo that they were neceſſitated to draw off to receive Supplies from our Shipping, which could not come nearer to them than *Dunbar*, diſtant from *Edinburgh* about twenty Miles. The Enemy obſerving our Army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon our Rear-Guard of Horſe in the Night, having the Advantage of a clear Moon, beat them up to our Rear-Guard of Foot. Which Alarm coming ſuddenly upon our Men, put them into ſome Diſorder; but a thick Cloud interpoſing in that very Moment, and intercepting the Light of the Moon for about an Hour, our Army took that Opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and arrived with-

out any further disturbance at *Dunbar*, where having shipped their heavy Baggage and sick Men, they designed to return into *England*. But the Enemies, upon Confidence of Success, had possessed themselves of all the Passes, having in their Army about thirty thousand Horse and Foot, and ours being reduced to ten Thousand at the most. There was now no way left, but to yield themselves Prisoners, or to fight upon these unequal Terms. In this Extremity a Council of War was called, and after some Dispute it was agreed to fall upon the Enemy the next Morning, about an Hour before Day, and accordingly the several Regiments were ordered to their respective Posts. Upon the first shock our Forlorn of Horse was somewhat disordered by their Lanciers; but two of our Regiments of Foot that were in the Van behaved themselves so well, that they not only sustained the Charge of the Enemies Horse, but beat them back upon their own Foot, and following them close, forced both Horse and Foot to retreat up the Hill from whence they had attacked us. The Body of the Enemies Army finding their Van-Guard, which consisted of their choicest Men, thus driven back upon them, began to shift for themselves, which they did with such Precipitation and Disorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at *Edinburgh*, taking no care of their King, who made use of the same means to secure himself as his new Subjects had done.

done. One Party of their Horſe made a ſtand till ſome of ours came up to them, and then ran away after the reſt of their Companions. Many were killed upon the Place, and many more in the Purſuit: All their Baggage, Arms, Artillery and Ammunition fell into the hands of our Army: Many alſo were taken and ſent Priſoners into *England*. When the firſt News of this great Victory was brought to *London* by Sir *John Hipſley*, it was my Fortune, with others of the Parliament, to be with the Lord *Fairfax* at *Hampton-Court*, who ſeemed much to rejoice at it. But the Victory it ſelf was not more welcome to me than the Contents of the General's Letter to the Parliament; wherein amongſt many other Expreſſions ſavouring of a publick Spirit, there was one to this effect; That ſeeing the Lord, upon this ſolemn Appeal made to him by the Scots and us, had ſo ſignally given Judgment on our ſide, when all hopes of Deliverance ſeemed to be cut off, it became us not to do his Work negligently; and from thence took occaſion to put us in mind, not to content our ſelves with the Name of a Commonwealth, but to do real things for the Common Good, and not to permit any Intereſt for their particular Advantage to prevail with us to the contrary. Our Army in *Scotland* having received ſome Recruits, advanced toward *Edinburgh*; but the Enemy being informed of their March, withdrew out of the Town, and leaving a ſtrong Gariſon in the Caſtle, retreated

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towards *Sterling*. The Parliament being very careful to ſupply their Armies with all things neceſſary, cauſed great Quantities of Hay to be bought up in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, which they ſent by Sea to *Scotland*, where it was abſolutely neceſſary, for the Scots Army had ſo ſtrongly intrenched themſelves by the Advantage of a Wood, that ours could not poſſibly attack them without great Hazard; and they were furniſhed with Proviſions from *Fife* and the adjacent Parts, which are the moſt fruitful in that Nation, by means of the Bridg at *Sterling*: whereas our Army, which lay encamped near them, had no other Country from whence they might draw Proviſions, but ſuch as had been already in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy: Beſides that, Hay is generally ſcarce in *Scotland*; and that a great part of our Forces conſiſted of Horſe.

Owen Roe O Neal, who commanded the Old Northern Iriſh in *Ulſter*, that had been principally concerned in the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, being dead, the Popiſh Biſhop of *Cloghar* undertook the Conduct of them, and being grown conſiderably ſtrong, neceſſitated Sir *Charles Coote* to draw his Forces together to defend his Quarters, which they deſigned to invade, deſperately reſolving to put it to the iſſue of a Battel. Their Foot was more numerous than ours, but Sir *Charles* exceeded them in Horſe. The Diſpute was hot for ſome time; but at laſt the Iriſh were beaten, tho not without

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out Loſs on our ſide: Amongſt others Col. *Fenwick*, a brave and gallant Man, was mortally wounded. The Enemies Baggage and Train of Artillery was taken, tho not many made Priſoners, being for the moſt part put to the Sword, with the Biſhop of *Cloghar* their General, whoſe Head was cut off and ſet upon one of the Gates of *London-derry*. The News of this Defeat being brought to thoſe in *Carlo*, who had held out in hopes of Relief from their Friends in *Ulſter*, together with a great ſcarcity of Proviſions in the Place, beſides the beating down of the little Caſtle that ſtood at the foot of the Bridg on the other ſide of the River, which happened about the ſame time, ſo diſcouraged thoſe within, that they ſurrendred the Place to the Lord Deputy *Ireton* upon Articles; which he cauſed punctually to be executed, as his conſtant manner was.

Purſuant to the Order of Parliament, appointing me Lieutenant General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, the General, as he was directed by the ſaid Order, ſent me a Commiſſion to that end; which I received, and gave him an Account of the Reception, acquainting him alſo how ſenſible I was of my want of Experience to manage ſo weighty an Employment; but that on the other hand I would not fail to endeavour to diſcharge my Duty with the utmoſt Fidelity. He replied, that I might rely upon that God to carry me through the Work, who had called me to it; and in the Cloſe of his Letter recommended

mended the procuring from the Parliament a Settlement upon Sir *Hardreſs Waller* of the Inheritance of ſome Lands which he then held by Leaſe from the Earl of *Ormond*, and for which he paid two hundred Pounds annual Rent, as a thing that might be proper for me to do before my Departure for *Ireland*. I was afterwards informed that Sir *Hardreſs Waller* had earneſtly ſolicited for this Employment of Lieutenant General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, and that the General not thinking it convenient to entruſt him with it, yet unwilling he ſhould know ſo much, perſwaded him to believe that the Parliament had over-ruled him therein.

The Parliament then paſſed an Act, conſtituting Commiſſioners for the Adminiſtration of Civil Affairs in *Ireland*, and agreed upon Inſtructions of ſufficient Latitude for them to act by, in particular to lay a Tax on that Nation not exceeding the Sum of thirty thouſand Pounds: To give order for the diſtribution of Juſtice, as near to the Rules of the Law, as the neceſſity of the Times would permit; and to conſider of a Method of Proceeding in the Courts of Juſtice there, to be offered to the Parliament for their Approbation. The Commiſſioners were thoſe that I mentioned before, only Major *Salloway* deſiring to be excuſed from that Service, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, a Member of Parliament, was inſerted in his room.

Some Suſpicions there were at this time that the Presbyterian Party in *England*, eſpecially thoſe

thoſe about *London*, entertained a private Correſpondence with their Brethren in *Scotland*: where tho that Nation had received a great Blow at *Dunbar*, yet it was reſolved that their King ſhould be crowned upon his taking the Solemn League and Covenant, and obliging himſelf thereby to endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Epiſcopacy. This Action was performed with all the Circumſtances and Solemnities that could be uſed in the Condition of their Affairs. The Nobility ſwore Fidelity to him, and the Marquiſs of *Argile* put the Crown upon his Head with his own Hands. And now having a King like other Nations, and a Covenanting King too, they doubted not of Succeſs under his Conduct, preſuming by this means moſt certainly to retrieve all their Loſſes and Reputation. But the Parliament who had removed one King, was not frighted with the ſetting up of another, and therefore proceeded in the Settlement of their Affairs both Military and Civil; and to that end ordered a thouſand Pounds to be advanced to the Commiſſioners of the Civil Affairs in *Ireland*, directing them to receive alſo a thouſand Pounds yearly. They likewiſe gave Orders for the payment of a thouſand Pounds to me by way of Advance upon my Pay as Lieutenant General of the Horſe, that I might be enabled to furniſh my ſelf with Tents, Horſes, and other things neceſſary for that Service. The Committee of Iriſh Affairs raiſed alſo a Troop conſiſting of a hundred Horſe

Horſe to accompany me, and armed them with Back, Breaſt, Head-pieces, Piſtols, and Muſquetoons, with two Months Pay advanced. The Lord Deputy *Ireton*'s Lady, Daughter to General *Cromwell*, prepared to go over with us to her Husband, who had removed his Head-quarters to *Waterford*, partly becauſe he thought that Place moſt convenient for the Service, as the Enemy then lay; and partly from ſome Diſguſt conceived againſt *Dublin*, where the Inhabitants had extorted unreaſonable Rates for their Proviſions and other Neceſſaries ſold to our Army at their Arrival there for the Relief of *Ireland*. Therefore reſolving to paſs through *South Wales*, I haſtned out of Town before the reſt of my Company, in order to take leave of my Friends in the Weſt; and from thence going to *Glamorganſhire*, I ſtayed there with ſome Relations of my Wife, till the reſt of the Company came down.

Before I left the Parliament, ſome Difference happening between the Counteſs of *Rutland* and the Lord *Edward Howard* of *Eſcrick*, Col. *Gell*, who was a great Servant of the Counteſs, informed Major General *Hariſon* that the Lord *Edward Howard* being a Member of Parliament, and one of the Committee at Haberdaſhers-Hall, had taken divers Bribes for the excuſing Delinquents from Sequeſtration, and eaſing them in their Compoſitions; and that in particular he had received a Diamond Hatband valued at eight hundred Pounds, from one Mr. *Compton*

Compton of *Suſſex*; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the Parliament. Major General *Harriſon* being a Man of ſevere Principles, and zealous for Juſtice, eſpecially againſt ſuch as betrayed the Publick Truſt repoſed in them, aſſured him, that if he could ſatisfy him that the Fact was as he affirmed, he would not fail to inform the Parliament of it: and upon Satisfaction received from the Colonel touching that Matter, ſaid in Parliament, That tho the Honour of every Member was dear to him, and of that Gentleman in particular, naming the Lord *Howard*, becauſe he had ſo openly owned the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, as to decline his Peerage, and to ſit upon the foot of his Election by the People; yet he loved Juſtice before all other things, looking upon it to be the Honour of the Parliament, and the Image of God upon them; that therefore he durſt not refuſe to lay this Matter before them, tho he was very deſirous that the ſaid Lord might clear himſelf of the Accuſation. The Parliament having received his Information, referred the Conſideration of the Matter to a Committee, where it was fully examined; and notwithſtanding all the Art of Counſel learned in the Law, who are very skilful at putting a good Appearance upon a bad Cauſe, and all the Friends the Lord *Howard* could make, ſo juſt and equitable a Spirit then governed, that the Committee having repreſented the Matter to the Parliament as they found it to be, they diſcharged

charged him from being a Member of Parliament, ſent him to the Tower, and fined him ten thouſand Pounds.

About the beginning of *January* the Commiſſioners of Parliament, the Lady *Ireton*, and my ſelf, met at *Milford*, in order to embark for *Ireland*, three Men of War lying ready for us in the Harbour, with ſeveral Ships for the Tranſportation of my Troop, with our Goods and Horſes. We came to *Milford* on Saturday, and on Monday following the Lady *Ireton* and the Commiſſioners ſet ſail with a fair Wind, leaving the *Guinea*-Frigat for me, and to be Convoy to thoſe Veſſels that were appointed to tranſport the Horſe and other things, of which but one could be ready time enough to ſet ſail with them, my Troop being not yet muſtered. The next day Mr. *Lort*, by order of the Committee of Parliament, muſtered my Troop, ſo that I began to ſhip them on Wedneſday in the Afternoon; and on Thurſday Morning they being all embarked, we ſet ſail, and tho the Weather proved very calm, we arrived the next day under the Fort of *Duncannon* near *Waterford*; where I underſtood that the Lady *Ireton* and the Commiſſioners had landed there the day before, and were gone to the Lord Deputy at *Waterford*.

Immediately after my Arrival I went to wait on the Lord Deputy *Ireton*, who was much ſurprized at my landing ſo ſoon after the reſt of the Company, and ordered good Quarters to be aſſigned

assigned to my Troop, that they might be refreshed before they entred upon Duty: for it was observed, that the English Horses were not so fit for Service, till they had been seasoned for some time with the Air and Provisions of that Country. Having received Advice that the Enemy was marched out of *Connaught* and *Limerick* towards our Quarters in *Munster*, he drew a Party of Horse and Foot out of their Winter-quarters, to which they had been lately sent, and with them endeavoured to find out the Enemy; who upon his Advance, retreated into their own Quarters. The Deputy being returned, was very careful to prepare all things that were necessary for the Army, that they might be ready to march into the Field early the next Spring; making Provision of Tents, Arms, Clothes and Bread for the Souldiers; sending Cannon and Ammunition of all sorts up the *Shannon* towards *Limerick* by Vessels provided to that end; that being the first Place which he designed to attack the following Year, having in his last March, by putting Garisons into *Castle-Conel*, *Kilmallock*, and other Places, blocked them up in some measure.

The Commissioners of Parliament, of whom the Deputy was one, spent a considerable time in debating and resolving in what manner Justice should be administred for the present in each Precinct, till the State of Affairs could be reduced into a more exact Order; and accounting it most just, that those who had the most

immediate Advantage by the War, ſhould bear the principal Burden of it, they laid upon the Nation of *Ireland* a Tax proportionable to their Ability; for the raiſing of which, together with the Exciſe and Cuſtoms that by our Authority from the Parliament we were impowered to impoſe, we appointed Commiſſioners for the Precincts of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Clonmel*, *Kilkenny* and *Ulſter*, who were to proceed according to ſuch Rules as they ſhould receive from time to time from the Parliament's Commiſſioners. The Governour of each Precinct was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of that Precinct, Col. *Hewetſon* being for *Dublin*, Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables* for *Ulſter*, Col. *Daniel Axtel* for *Kilkenny*, Col. *Zanchey* for *Clonmel*, Col. *Phaier* for the County of *Cork*, and Col. *Laurence* for the County of *Waterford*: They appointed Col. *Thomas Herbert* and Col. *Markham* to be Inſpectors over the reſt, and to go from place to place to ſee that their Inſtructions were put in execution. Commiſſioners were alſo appointed in the ſeveral Precincts for the more equal Diſtribution of Juſtice; and a Proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding the killing of Lambs or Calves for the Year next enſuing, that the Country might recover a Stock again, which had been ſo exhauſted by the Wars, that many of the Natives who had committed all manner of waſte upon the Poſſeſſions of the Engliſh, were driven to ſuch Extremities that they ſtarved with Hunger;

ger; and I have been informed by Perſons deſerving Credit, that the ſame Calamity fell upon them even in the firſt Year of the Rebellion, through the Depredations of the Iriſh; and that they roaſted Men, and eat them, to ſupply their Neceſſities. In conjunction with this Evil they were alſo afflicted with the Plague, which was ſuppoſed to have been brought amongſt them by a Ship from *Spain*, and bound to *Galway*, from whence the Infection ſpread it ſelf through moſt Parts of the Country, and amongſt others had reached *Waterford*, where ſeveral died of it, and particularly a Kinſwoman of mine, who having been driven out of *Ireland* with her Husband and Children at the breaking out of the Rebellion, took the Opportunity to return thither with me, and died there, with one of her Children, very ſuddenly, having dined with me the day before. The Spring approaching, we removed to *Kilkenny*, that Place lying moſt convenient for the diſtribution of Tents, Clothes, and all other things neceſſary for the uſe of the Army: It was alſo near the Enemies Quarters, and thereby thought moſt proper to favour any Attempt againſt them from thence. Col. *Reynolds*, who returned from *England* with us, being made Commiſſary General of the Horſe in *Ireland*, was ſent with a Party into the *King* and *Queen's County*, and put a Gariſon into *Marriborough*, appointing Major *Owen* to be Governour of the Place. At his Return it was agreed that a Detachment

from *Nenagh*, where Col. *Abbot* commanded, another from *Caſhil* and thoſe Parts, and a third from *Kilkenny*, ſhould march from their reſpective Gariſons, and contrive it ſo as to fall upon the Quarters of Col. *Fitzpatrick* at the ſame time, which were advantageouſly ſituated, encompaſſed with Woods and Bogs, and inacceſſible, except by three very narrow and difficult ways, by which they were ordered to attack him ſeparately. This Enterprize was ſo well effected, that the Place was taken, with many of the Enemies Horſe, beſides a great number of Men killed or made Priſoners. At this time it happened that Col. *Axtell*, than whom no Man was better acquainted with the Country of *Ireland*, was accuſed for not performing ſome Conditions ſaid to have been promiſed to the Enemy, who pretended that after they had ſurrendred upon aſſurance of Mercy, they were all put to the Sword, except a few who made their Eſcape. The Colonel endeavoured to prove, that no Conditions had been granted; that they were taken by Force, and that they who had ſhewed no Mercy, could not deſerve to receive any. Tho the Proof was not clear that he had promiſed them their Lives, yet becauſe it appeared that ſome of the Souldiers had thrown out ſome Expreſſions tending that way to the Enemy, the Deputy was ſo great a Friend to Juſtice, even where an Enemy was concerned, that tho Col. *Axtell* was a Perſon extraordinarily qualified for the Service of

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that Conjuncture; he, together with the Council of War, at which the Commissioners of the Parliament were also present, suspended him from his Employment.

The Lord *Broghil*, who had conceived great hopes of obtaining the Command of the Horse, or at least to be made a General Officer, well knowing his own Merit, and thereupon thinking himself neglected, made his Complaint to the Deputy in a Letter directed to him, and sent unsealed in another to Adjutant General *Allen*; wherein enumerating the Services he had done, the Losses he had sustained, and the slender Encouragements he had received, he declared his Resolution not to obey the Commands of any other but of General *Cromwell* and him. In answer to this the Deputy by another Letter acquainted him, that he was sorry to find such a Spirit in him; and particularly that he should discover it at such a time when the Season for Action was drawing on, desiring him to come to the Head-quarters, that they might confer together touching this Matter. At his coming the Deputy consulted with the Commissioners what Course to take in this Affair. I excused my self to them from giving my Advice, (his principal Objection being against me) telling them, I was convinced that he had some Ground for his Dissatisfaction, by reason of his Interest and Experience in the Country; I being in those respects much inferiour to him, and should not have had the

Confidence to have undertaken the Employment I poſſeſſed, but in pure Obedience to thoſe who were in Authority. The Deputy aſſured me, that they were abundantly ſatisfied with the Clearneſs of my Proceeding, and no leſs of my Abilities to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in me, and to perform the Duties of my Employments, of which he was pleaſed to ſay, I had given ſufficient Demonſtration, as well as of a conſtant and hearty Affection to the Publick Intereſt. In concluſion, the Debate concerning the Lord *Broghill* was brought to this Queſtion; Whether he ſhould be wholly laid aſide, or whether ſomething ſhould be done in order to content him for the preſent, by conferring upon him ſome Office of Profit, and the Title of a General Officer. The latter was agreed upon, and he declared Lieutenant General of the Ordinance in *Ireland*.

The Commiſſioners having ſettled Affairs as well as they could, and finding the Deputy to be employed in making all neceſſary Preparations for the enſuing Service, took that Opportunity to go to regulate Affairs at *Dublin*, where after they had diſpatched the Publick Buſineſs, in which they ſpent about a Week, and provided Houſes to receive their Families when they ſhould arrive from *England*, they returned to *Kilkenny*. The Enemy, who had a Party of Horſe in thoſe Parts, had deſigned to ſurprize them in their way to *Dublin*, and again in their Return to us; but finding them attend-

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ed by a ſtrong Guard, they durſt not venture to attempt it.

The Enemies Forces being retreated into *Connaught*, which Province was covered by the *Shannon*, and keeping ſtrong Guards upon the Bridges and Fords of that River, the Reduction of *Limerick* could not well be expected till we had blocked them up on both ſides. In order to which it was reſolved, that Sir *Charles Coote*, who had with him between four and five thouſand Horſe and Foot, ſhould march into *Connaught* by the way of *Ballyſhannon*, a Paſſage on the ſide of *Ulſter*, not far diſtant from the Sea; and Commiſſary General *Reynolds* was ſent with his Regiment of Horſe to his Aſſiſtance.

Col. *Axtell* and ſome others about this time going for *England*, were taken by a Pirate belonging to *Scilly*, whither they were all carried Priſoners: The Iriſh who were many in the Iſland, againſt whom Col. *Axtell* had been very active, and who had heard of the Charge lately exhibited againſt him, preſſed hard for the taking away his Life. But upon conſideration of the Preparations making by the Parliament to ſend a Fleet with Souldiers to reduce that Iſland, it was not thought convenient to attempt any thing againſt him, tho they had a ſtrong Inclination to it, for fear of an exemplary Retaliation.

In the mean time the Parliament ſent a Fleet with ſome Land-Forces to reduce the Iſle of

Jersey, with the Castle which was kept by Sir *Philip Carteret* for Prince *Charles*. Col. *Haines* who commanded them, met with some Opposition at his landing; but having brought his Men ashore, the Island generally submitted to the Parliament. The Castle having made some Resistance, was soon after surrendred also.

The Affairs of the Commonwealth being thus successful, and their Authority acknowledged by the Applications of Agents and Ambassadors from Foreign Nations to them, it was resolved to send some Ministers abroad to entertain a good Correspondence with our Neighbours, and to preserve the Interests of the Subjects of this Nation in those Parts. To that effect the Lord Chief Justice *St. Johns* was dispatched with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the States of the *United Netherlands*, with whom Mr. *Walter Strickland*, our Resident there, was joined in Commission; and to prevent such another Attempt as had been made upon our former Agent, forty Gentlemen were appointed to attend him for his Security and Honour, ten thousand Pounds being delivered to the Lord Ambassador's Steward for the Expence of the Embassy. Yet this great Equipage was not sufficient to prevent a publick Affront which was offered him by Prince *Edward*, one of the Palatine Family, as he was passing the Streets. But the Prince immediately retiring to some Place out of the Ju-

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riſdiction of the States, ſecured himſelf from any Proſecution, tho they pretended upon the Complaint of our Ambaſſadors, that they were ready to do them what Right they could. The Negotiation of our Miniſters, which was deſigned to procure a nearer Conjunction and Coalition between the two States, proved alſo ineffectual, the Province of *Holland* being not ſo much inclined to conſent to it as was expected, and *Frizeland*, with moſt of the reſt of the Provinces, entirely againſt it; preſuming that ſuch a Conjunction as was demanded would be no leſs than rendring thoſe Countries a Province to *England:* So that our Ambaſſadors having uſed all poſſible means to ſucceed in their Buſineſs, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilſt the King had an Army in the Field, returned to *England* without effecting any thing but the Expence of a great Sum of Money. This Diſappointment ſat ſo heavy upon the haughty Spirit of the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. Johns*, that he reported theſe Tranſactions with the higheſt Aggravations againſt the States, and thereby was a principal Inſtrument to prevail with the Council of State to move the Parliament to paſs an Act prohibiting foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except ſuch as ſhould be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country to which the ſaid Ships did belong. This Law, tho juſt in it ſelf, and very advantageous to the Engliſh Nation, was ſo highly reſented by the

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Dutch, who had for a long time driven the Trade of *Europe* by the great Number of their Ships, that it ſoon proved to be the Ball of Contention between the two Nations.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Deputy of *Ireland* labouring with all diligence to carry on the Publick Service, ordered the Army to rendezvouz at *Caſhil*; from whence he marched by the way of *Nenagh* to that part of the River *Shannon* which lies over againſt *Killalo*, where the Earl of *Caſtle-haven* lay with about two thouſand Horſe and Foot, diſpoſed along the ſide of the River, and defended by Breaſt-works caſt up for their Security, reſolving to endeavour to obſtruct our Paſſage into *Connaught*. The Deputy, as if he had intended to divert the Courſe of the River, ſet the Souldiers and Pioneers at work to take the Ground lower on our ſide, that the Water venting it ſelf into the Paſſage, the River might become fordable; which ſo alarmed the Enemy, that they drew out moſt of their Men to oppoſe us. Whilſt they were thus amuſed, the Deputy taking me with him, and a Guard of Horſe, marched privately by the ſide of the *Shannon*, in order to find a convenient place to paſs that River. The ways were almoſt impaſſable by reaſon of the Bogs, tho Col. *Reeves* and others who commanded in thoſe Parts had repaired them with Hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from *Killalo* to *Caſtle-Conel*, we found a place that anſwered our Deſires, where

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a Bridg had formerly been, with an old Caſtle ſtill ſtanding at the foot of it on the other ſide of the River. We took only a ſhort view of the Place, leſt we ſhould give occaſion to the Enemy to ſuſpect our Deſign. The way hither from our Camp was ſo full of Bogs, that neither Horſe nor Man could paſs without great Danger, ſo that we were neceſſitated to mend them, by laying Hurdles and great pieces of Timber a-croſs in order to bear our Carriages: which we did under pretence of making a paſſable way between our Camp and *Caſtle-Conel*, a Gariſon of ours, where Proviſions were laid up for the Army. It was about ten days before all things neceſſary to this Deſign could be prepared, and then Col. *Reeves* was commanded to bring three Boats which he had to a place appointed for that purpoſe, by one a Clock in the Morning. At the beginning of the Night three Regiments of Foot, and one of Horſe, with four Pieces of Cannon, marched ſilently towards the place where the Boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two Boats waiting for them, yet they ſerved to carry over three Files of Muſqueteers and ſix Troopers, who having unſaddled their Horſes, cauſed them to ſwim by the Boat, and were ſafely landed on the other ſide. Two Sentinels of the Enemy were in the Caſtle, of whom one was killed by our Men, and the other made his Eſcape. Our Boats had tranſported about ſixty Foot and twenty Horſe before

fore any Enemy appeared; but then ſome of their Horſe coming up skirmiſhed with ours, wherein one Mr. *How*, a hopeful daring young Gentleman, who had accompanied me into *Ireland*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf. About a thouſand of the Enemies Foot advancing, our Horſe was commanded to retire, which they did, not without ſome Reluctancy; but the haſty March of their Foot was retarded by our Guns which we had planted on a Hill on our ſide of the River, from whence we fired ſo thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the ſhelter of a riſing Ground; where after they had been a while, and conſidered what to do, finding ours coming over apace to them, inſtead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide againſt our falling upon them; and having ſent to all their Guards upon the River to draw off, they retreated farther through the Woods into their own Quarters. We were no ſooner got over the River, but we received advice that Sir *Charles Coote* and Commiſſary General *Reynolds* were entred into *Connaught*, and advanced as far as *Athenree*. Our Ships were alſo come up the River of *Limerick* with our Artillery, Ammunition, Proviſions, and all things neceſſary for the Siege of *Limerick*. And now the Deputy thinking himſelf abundantly provided for the Reduction of that important Place, and not knowing what Neceſſities the Party with Sir *Charles Coote* might be driven to, the chief of the Enemies Strength being drawn

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that way, he resolved to send a Party of Horse to him. But not being able to spare above a thousand Horse for that Service, he was unwilling to desire me to command them, tho he had no Person with him that he could conveniently make use of therein, most of the Colonels of Horse being employed in their respective Precincts to secure them from the Incursions of the Enemies. This I perceived, and offered to march with them: whereupon the Deputy furnished me with three Majors, who were Major *Warden* of my own Regiment of Horse, Major *Owen* of the Regiment of Commissary General *Reynolds*, and Major *Bolton* of a Regiment of Dragoons, a brave and diligent Officer. We began our March about five in the Afternoon, and by twelve at Night having marched between sixteen and seventeen Miles, we dismounted to forage our Horses, and rest our selves. Before day we mounted and continued our March through a desolate Country, the People being fled, and no Provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the Morning our Forlorn perceived a *Creaght*, as the Country People call it, where half a dozen Families with their Cattle were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that Country to be Enemies, began to kill them; of which having notice, I put a stop to it, and took a share with them of a Pot of sowr Milk, which seemed to me the most pleasant Liquor that ever I drank.

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In the Afternoon we found the ways exceeding bad, and almoſt impaſſable, many of the Hurdles which had been laid upon them being drawn away, as we ſuppoſed, by the Enemy: yet in a little more than twenty four hours we had marched about forty Miles, and were informed that Sir *Charles Coote* was beſieging *Portumna*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Clanrickard*, and that the Enemies were about *Athenree*. Upon this notice, leaving my Party advantageouſly poſted in a Place furniſhed with Proviſions for themſelves and Horſes, I took with me ſixty Horſe, and went to *Portumna*, to be informed more particularly concerning the State of Affairs. At my Arrival I underſtood that an Attempt had been made upon the Place, wherein our Men had been repulſed; but that the Enemy, having a large Line to keep, and many poor People within, fearing to hazard another Aſſault, had agreed to ſurrender upon Articles next Morning, which was done accordingly. And now having found Sir *Charles Coote*'s Party in good condition, and able to deal with the Enemies on that ſide, I returned to my Body of Horſe, with which and five hundred more that joined me, commanded by Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, I followed and endeavoured to find out the Enemy; but they removed from one Place to another with ſuch Expedition, that we could not overtake them, having left their Carriages, in order to march the lighter, at a Caſtle belonging to one Mr. *Brabſton*, ſituated upon

upon a conſiderable Paſs. This Place I endeavoured to reduce; and tho it was indifferently ſtrong, and we very ill provided for ſuch an Attempt, yet after ſome Reſiſtance the Enemies delivered it upon Articles, whereby they were permitted to carry off whatſoever belonged properly to them; the Tents and Draught-Oxen remaining in our poſſeſſion, with ſeveral other things belonging to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, whom the Earl of *Ormond* had conſtituted his Deputy in thoſe Parts. Having put a Gariſon into this Place, and ſent back Commiſſary General *Reynolds* with his Party to *Portumna*, I marched with my Horſe towards *Limerick*, and came to *Gourtenſhegore*, a Caſtle belonging to Sir *Dermot O Shortneſs*, who was then gone to *Galway*, but had left his Tenants with ſome Souldiers, and one *Foliot* an Engliſh Man to command them, in the Caſtle. At my coming before it I ſummoned them to ſubmit, offering them, that in caſe they would diſmiſs their Souldiers, and promiſe to live quietly in the obedience of the Parliament, I would leave no Gariſon in the Place, nor ſuffer any Prejudice to be done to them. They pretending they had already ſubmitted to Sir *Charles Coote*, refuſed to deliver the Caſtle to any other. Tho I took this to be only a pretence, yet to leave them without excuſe, and to prevent all Exceptions, I ſent to Sir *Charles Coote* to deſire him to let me know how the Matter ſtood, and to direct them to deliver the Place to me. Having

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ing received an Anſwer to my Letter from Sir *Charles Coote*, I ſent it to them, telling them, that now I expected their Obedience; but inſtead of that they ſent me a Defiance, and ſounded their Bagpipes in contempt of us; to which they were chiefly encouraged by one of the Country, whom I had ſent to bring in to me ſome Iron Bars, Sledges, and Pickaxes, and who under colour of going to fetch them, ran away to the Enemy, and acquainted them with our want of Artillery and Inſtruments to force them. I gave Orders to take up all the Horſes from Graſs, to bridle and ſaddle them, and to tie them to the Tents of their reſpective Troops, commanding two Troops to mount the Guard, and to ſend out Scouts to diſcover if any Enemy were near. The reſt of the Men I drew into ſeveral Parties, and aſſigned them their particular Attacks: Every Souldier carried a Fagot before him, as well to defend himſelf, as to fill up the Enemies Trenches, or to fire the Gates, as there ſhould be occaſion. On one ſide of the Wall there was an Earth-work about eleven Foot high, with a Trench of equal breadth without. The Wall of the Court was about twelve Foot high, well flanked. On the other ſide the Place was ſecured by a River. Upon our firſt Approach the Enemy ſhot very thick upon us, and killed two of our Men, which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ran up to the Works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the Enemy, following them

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ſo cloſe, that by means of ſome Ladders which thoſe within had made uſe of, they got into the Court, and put to the Sword moſt of thoſe they found there, the Enemy not daring to open the Gate to receive their Friends. Thoſe of ours who had entred the Court, having no Inſtruments to force the Houſe, made uſe of a wooden Bar which they found, and with which they wreſted out the Iron Bars of a ſtrong ſtone Window about ſix Foot from the Ground, and forced the Enemy by their Shot out of that Room, where being entred, they put to the Sword thoſe that were there. Lieutenant *Foliot* finding his Caſe deſperate, reſolved to ſell his Life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our Men, who were nine or ten in number, with a Tuck in one hand, and a Stilletto in the other, defending himſelf ſo well with the one, and preſſing them ſo hard with the other, that they all gave ground; but he cloſing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the Body, by which Wound he fell, and the Houſe was quickly cleared of the reſt. Moſt of the Principal of the Enemies being got into the Caſtle, our Men fired a great number of Fagots at the Gates, which burned ſo furiouſly, that the Flame took hold of the Floors and other Timber within, through the Iron Grate, which being perceived by thoſe in the Caſtle, they hung out a white Flag, begging earneſtly for Mercy, and that

we would take away the Fire. I commanded my Men to leave ſhooting, and acquainted the Beſieged, that if they expected any Favour from us, they muſt throw down their Arms, which they preſently did: Whereupon I ordered the Fire to be taken away, and gave a Souldier twenty Shillings to fetch out two Barrels of Powder that was near the Fire, which continued to burn ſo fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up Skains of Match into the Chambers, by which thoſe in the Caſtle deſcended to us, being about fourſcore in number, beſides many Women and Children. We ſecured the Men till the next Morning, when I called a Council of War; and being preſſed by the Officers, that ſome of the Principal of them might be puniſhed with Death for their Obſtinacy, I conſented to their Demand, provided it might not extend to ſuch as had been drawn in by the Malice of others. Thoſe who were Tenants to Sir *Dermot O Shortneſs*, and Country-men, I diſmiſſed to their Habitations, upon promiſe to behave themſelves peaceably, and to engage againſt us no more: the reſt of them we carried away with us. Whilſt we were ſpending our time in ſending to Sir *Charles Coote*, and expecting his Anſwer, I had ſent a Party of Horſe to find out ſome of the Enemies that were marched towards the Barony of *Burren*; and tho they could not overtake them, yet they met with four or five hundred Head of Cattle, and ſeized

them, which proved a great Refreſhment to our Party, and to the Army that was beſieging *Limerick*, whither we returned, and gave an Account of our Proceedings to the Deputy, who expreſſed himſelf well ſatisfied with the ſame.

At my Return I found that our Army had poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the Enemies Forts that ſtood in the midſt of the *Shannon* upon the *Fiſhing Ware*, in this manner. A ſmall Battery of two Guns being erected againſt it, one of them was fired into a Room, and breaking the Leg of a Souldier there, ſo frighted the reſt, that betaking themſelves to their Boats, they abandoned the Place; which ours perceiving, fired ſo thick upon them with their Shot, that all thoſe who were in one of the Boats, whether moved by Fear or Promiſe of Life I know not, ſurrendred to our Men; yet ſome of them were put to the Sword, at which the Deputy was much troubled, judging that they would not have quitted the means they had in their hands for their Preſervation, but upon Terms of Advantage, and therefore referred the Matter to be examined by a Court Martial.

Thoſe in the Town having conſidered of the Summons ſent to them by the Deputy for the Surrender of the Place, agreed to treat concerning Articles, ſuppoſing that they might obtain more favourable Conditions than when they ſhould be driven to Extremities. Accordingly ſix Commiſſioners were appointed on

each ſide. Thoſe for the Enemy were Major General *Purcel*, Mr. *Stockdale* Recorder of the Town, Col. *Butler*, *Jeffrey Barrow*, who had been one of their *Supreme Council*, Mr. *Baggot*, and one more, whoſe Name I do not remember. The Commiſſioners nominated by the Deputy were Major General *Waller*, Col. *Cromwell*, Major *Smith*, Adjutant General *Allen*, my ſelf, and one more, whom I have alſo forgot. We met them in a Tent placed between the Town and our Camp, where we dined together, and treated of Conditions for ſeveral days; but they having great Expectations of Relief, either by the King's Succeſs againſt us in *Scotland*, or by the drawing together of their own Parties in *Ireland*, who were able to form an Army more numerous than ours, inſiſted upon ſuch exceſſive Terms, that the Treaty was broken up without coming to any Concluſion. The Fort which we were preparing in order to block them up on one ſide of the Town being almoſt finiſhed, and Materials ready for building a Bridg to be laid over the *Shannon* to preſerve a Communication between our Forces on each ſide, we reſolved to endeavour the Reduction of a Caſtle poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and ſtanding beyond their Bridg. To that end a Battery was erected, and a Breach being made, the Deputy remembring the Vigour of the Troopers in the Action at *Gourtenſhegore*, deſired that one might be drawn out of each Troop to be an Example to the Foot that

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were to ſtorm: which being done, they were armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-piece, and furniſhed with Hand-Granadoes. One Mr. *Hacket*, a ſtout Gentleman of the Guard, was made choice of to lead them on, who were in all not above twenty. This Deſign ſucceeded beyond Expectation; for our Men having thrown in their Granadoes, marched up to the Breach, and entred with Mr. *Hacket* at the Head of them, being followed by thoſe who were ordered to ſuſtain them. The Enemy not being able to ſtand before them, quitted the Place, and retired by the Bridg into the Town. The Caſtle was immediately ſearched, and four or five Barrels of Powder were found in a Vault ready to take fire by a lighted Match left there by the Enemy on purpoſe to blow up our Men. The Deputy gave Mr. *Hacket* and the reſt of the Troopers a Gratuity for their good Service, and upon the Encouragement of this Succeſs, formed a Deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of an Iſland that lay near the Town, containing about forty or fifty Acres of Ground, and encompaſſed by the River: In order to which Boats were prepared, and Floats ſufficient to tranſport three hundred Men at once, and Orders given to fall down the River about Midnight. Three Regiments of Foot and one of Horſe were appointed to be wafted over. The firſt three hundred, being all Foot, were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, who being landed on the Iſland with his Men, marched up to the

Enemies Breaſt-work, which they had caſt up quite round the Place; but they having diſcovered our Men before their Landing, had drawn moſt of their Forces together to oppoſe them; ſo that being oppreſſed by the Enemies Numbers, they were moſt of them forced into the Water, and all either killed or drowned, except two or three only who came back to the Camp. Our Bridg being finiſhed, and a ſmall Fort to defend it erected at the foot of it, the Deputy, with moſt part of the Army, marched over to the other ſide of the River, where he marked out Ground for three Bodies of Men to encamp ſeparately, each to conſiſt of about two thouſand, giving Orders for the fortifying of thoſe Places, aſſigning to each Regiment their Proportion, and quartering them by Brigades in the moſt convenient manner he could, either to defend themſelves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the Enemy: and as ſoon as the great Fort on which our Men had been long working was rendred defenſible, he drew off all our Forces from this ſide of the River, except a thouſand Foot, and about three hundred Horſe.

In the mean time the Enemy was endeavouring to draw their Forces together to relieve the Place, well knowing of what Importance it was to their Affairs. To that end the Lord *Muskerry* had brought together about five thouſand Horſe and Foot in the Counties of *Cork* and *Kerry*, and *David Rock* between two or three

three thouſand more in the County of *Clare*. The Lord *Broghil* and Major *Wallis* were ſent to oppoſe the Lord *Muskerry*, whilſt I with another Detachment was ordered to look after the other. The Lord *Broghil* ſoon met with the Lord *Muskerry*, and after ſome Diſpute entirely defeated him, killing many of the Iriſh, and taking others Priſoners, with little loſs on our ſide. I paſſed the River at *Inchecroghnan*, of which the Enemy having advice, drew off their Forces from *Caricgoholt*, a Gariſon of ours, which they were beſieging, whereby Capt. *Lucas*, who was Governour of the Place, wanting Proviſions, took that opportunity to quit it; and being joined by Capt. *Taff*'s Dragoons, came ſafe to us. Whilſt I was endeavouring to find out the Enemy, Advice was brought to me, that they, to the number of three thouſand Horſe and Foot, were marching with all diligence to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſs at *Inchecrohgnan*, thereby deſigning to obſtruct our Return to the Army before *Limerick*: which being confirmed by a Letter we intercepted, I drew out two hundred and fifty Horſe with ſixty Dragoons, and ſent them before, with Orders to take poſſeſſion of the Paſs, marching after them with the reſt of my Party. When I was almoſt come to the Paſs, I was informed by thoſe ſent before, that they had found a ſmall number of the Enemies Horſe there, who immediately retreated upon the advance of our Men, ſome of whom were in purſuit of them.

Presently after Advice was brought, that the Enemy made good a Pass leading to some Woods and Bogs which they used for a Retreat; whereupon I went to take a view of their Posture, that if it were necessary I might order a greater Force to succour our Men. Being come up to the Place where the Dispute was, I found that *Connor O Brian*, deputed by the Lord *Inchequin* to command in the County of *Clare*, had been shot from his Horse, and carried away by his Party. The Enemy retreated to a Pass, and fired thick upon us; but we advancing within Pistol-shot of them, they quitted their Ground, and betook themselves to their Woods and Bogs. Divers of them were killed in the Pursuit; yet the Ground was so advantagious to them, and their Heels so good, that tho we pursued them with all possible diligence, and sent out Parties several ways, yet we could not take above two or three of them Prisoners. Having dispersed this Party, and relieved the Garison of *Caricgoholt*, I returned to the Army before *Limerick*, where I found a considerable Progress made in our Works on the other side of the Town, and a Reinforcement from *England* of between three and four thousand Foot, whose Arrival was very seasonable and welcome to us, having lost many Men by hard Service, change of Food, and alteration of the Climate. The Deputy fearing that the Plague, which raged fiercely in *Limerick*, might reach our Army; and to

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the end that care might be taken of our ſick and wounded Men, cauſed an Hoſpital to be prepared, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary; and whilſt the Works were finiſhing againſt the Town, he went to viſit the Gariſon of *Killalo*, and to order a Bridg to be made over the River at that Place, for the better Communication of the Counties of *Tipperary* and *Clare*. I accompanied him in this Journey, and having paſſed all Places of Danger, he left his Guard to refreſh themſelves, and rode ſo hard that he ſpoiled many Horſes, and hazarded ſome of the Men; but he was ſo diligent in the Publick Service, and ſo careleſs of every thing that belonged to himſelf, that he never regarded what Clothes or Food he uſed, what Hour he went to reſt, or what Horſe he mounted.

In the mean time our Army in *Scotland* lying near the Enemies Camp at *Torwood*, who were plentifully furniſhed with Proviſions from the County of *Fife*, it was reſolved that a Party of ours, commanded by Colonel *Overton*, ſhould be ſent in Boats from *Leith* and *Edinburgh* into that County, to contrive ſome way to prevent the Enemies Supplies from thence. This Party was followed by four Regiments of Horſe and Foot commanded by Major General *Lambert*. Of which the Enemy having notice, ſent Sir *John Brown*, who was eſteemed to be a Perſon of Courage and Conduct, with part of their Army

my to oppoſe them. It was not long before the two Parties came to an Engagement, wherein the Enemy was totally routed; Sir *John Brown* who commanded them, with about two thouſand of his Men killed, many made Priſoners, and all their Baggage taken. The Scots being deprived of their uſual Supplies from *Fife*, and not expecting any from foreign Parts, by reaſon of the number of our Ships cruizing on their Coaſt, reſolved to march into *England*, having received Encouragement ſo to do from their old and new Friends there. They paſſed the River *Tweed* near *Carliſle*, there being a ſtrong Gariſon in *Berwick* for the Parliament, and were conſiderably advanced on their March before our Army in *Scotland* were acquainted with their Deſign. Major General *Harriſon*, with about four thouſand Horſe and Foot, ſomewhat obſtructed their March, tho he was not conſiderable enough to fight them; and being joined by Major General *Lambert* with a Party of Horſe from the Army, they obſerved the Enemy ſo cloſely as to keep them from Excurſions, and to prevent others from joining with them. The Scots who were in great expectation of Aſſiſtance from *Wales*, and relied much upon Col. *Maſſey*'s Intereſt in *Gloceſterſhire*, advanced that way. Few of the Country came in to them; but on the other ſide, ſo affectionate were the People to the Commonwealth, that they brought in Horſe and Foot from all Parts to aſſiſt the Parliament: Inſomuch

much that their Number was by many thought ſufficient to have beaten the Enemy without the Aſſiſtance of the Army ; ſome even of the excluded Members appearing in Arms, and leading Regiments againſt the Common Enemy.

At the ſame time, upon notice that the Earl of *Derby* was at the Head of fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot in *Lancaſhire*, Col. *Lilburn* was ſent that way with about eight hundred Men, who meeting with the Earl's Forces near *Wigan*, after a ſharp Diſpute for about an hour, totally routed them. The Number of the Slain was conſiderable on the Enemies ſide : The Lord *Widdrington*, with other Perſons of Quality, were killed. All their Baggage was taken, and three or four hundred made Priſoners, with the Loſs only of one Officer, and about ten private Souldiers of Col. *Lilburn's*. The Earl of *Derby* himſelf was wounded, and eſcaped to *Worceſter* ; but bringing not above thirty tired Horſe with him, the Townſmen began to repent their Revolt from the Parliament.

The Scots having poſſeſſed themſelves of the City of *Worceſter*, and fortified it as well as they could in ſo ſhort a time, reſolved to attack our Army, which was now advanced to that Place, and poſted on each ſide of the *Severn*, ready to receive them, with General *Cromwell* at their Head. Their firſt Attack was made upon Lieutenant General *Fleetwood's* Quarters

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that were on the other ſide of the River, who with ſome Forces of the Army, and a Reinforcement of the Militia made a vigorous Reſiſtance. The General fearing he might be overpower'd, diſpatch'd ſome Troops to his Aſſiſtance by a Bridg laid over the River, commanding Major General *Lambert* to ſend another Detachment to the ſame purpoſe; but he deſired to be excuſed, alledging, that if the Enemy ſhould alter their Courſe, and fall upon thoſe on this ſide, they might probably cut off all that remained: which was not unlikely, for ſoon after moſt of the Enemies Strength fell upon that part of the Army where the General and Major General *Lambert* were. The Battel was fought with various Succeſs for a conſiderable time; but at length the Scots Army was broken, and quitting their Ground, retreated in great Diſorder to the Town, where they endeavoured to defend themſelves. Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Croxton*, and the Forces of *Cheſhire*, entred the Place at their heels; and being followed by the reſt of the Army, ſoon finiſhed the Diſpute, and totally defeated the Enemy. Three Engliſh Earls, ſeven Scots Lords, and above ſix hundred Officers, beſides ten thouſand private Souldiers, were made Priſoners. The King's Standard, and a hundred fifty eight Colours, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage, was alſo taken. On our ſide, Quarter-maſter General *Moſely*, and Capt. *Jones*, with about a hundred private Soul-

Souldiers, were killed, and Capt. *Howard*, with one Captain more, and about three hundred Souldiers wounded. This Victory was obtained by the Parliament's Forces on the 3*d* of *September*, being the same Day of the same Month that the Scots had been defeated at *Dunbar* the preceding Year. Col. *Massey* escaped into *Leicestershire*, but being dangerously wounded, found himself not able to continue his way, and fearing to be knock'd on the head by the Country, delivered himself to the Countess of *Stamford*, Mother to the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, who caused his Wounds to be carefully dressed, and sent notice of his Surrender to the Army. Whereupon a Party was dispatched with Orders to conduct him from thence to *London*, as soon as he should be fit to travel, which was done, and he committed Prisoner to the Tower. The Scots King with the Lord *Wilmot* were concealed by three Country-men, till they could furnish him with a Horse, with which he crossed the Country to one Mr. *Gunter*'s near *Shoreham* in *Sussex*, carrying one Mrs. *Lane* behind him, from whence in a small Bark he escaped to *France*.

The General after this Action, which he called the Crowning Victory, took upon him a more stately Behaviour, and chose new Friends; neither must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the Services of those who came from all Parts to assist against the Common Enemy, tho he knew they had deserved as much

much Honour as himſelf and the ſtanding Army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the Fight diſmiſſed and ſent them home, well knowing, that a uſeful and experienced Militia was more likely to obſtruct than to ſecond him in his ambitious Deſigns. Being on his way to *London*, many Members of the Parliament, attended by the City, and great numbers of Perſons of all Orders and Conditions, went ſome Miles out of the Town to meet him, which tended not a little to heighten the Spirit of this haughty Gentleman.

Lieutenant General *Monk*, whom the General had raiſed to that Employment, and ordered to command in *Scotland* during his Abſence, took *Sterling-Caſtle*; and then marched with about four thouſand Horſe and Foot before *Dundee*. But being adviſed that General *Leſley*, the Earl of *Crawford*, and others, were met at *Elliot* to conſult of means to relieve that Town, he ſent a Party of Horſe and Dragoons commanded by Col. *Alured* and Col. *Morgan*, to ſurprize them, which they did; and the principal of them being taken, were ſent Priſoners to *London*, where they were committed to the Tower. After this he ſummoned the Town of *Dundee*; but the Place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous Gariſon, refuſed to ſurrender; whereupon he ſtorm'd it, and being entred, put five or ſix hundred to the Sword, and commanded the Governour, with divers others, to be killed in cold Blood.

The

Tho the News of these Successes much discouraged our Enemies in *Ireland*, yet those in *Limerick* were not without some hopes, that either the Plague, or Scarcity of Provisions, together with the badness of the Weather, might constrain us to raise the Siege; and therefore refused to accept such Conditions as we were willing to grant. The Line which we had made about the Town, and the Forts being in a condition of Defence, the Deputy resolved to look after the Enemy in the County of *Clare*, and if possible to get some Provisions from thence for the Relief of the Army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in those Parts before, and between three and four thousand Horse and Foot. At our Approach to the Places where the Enemies usually were, we divided our Body, the Deputy being at the Head of one, and I at the Head of the other Party; hoping by this means so to encompass the Enemy, that they should not escape us: but tho we sometimes came within sight of them, and used our utmost Endeavours to engage them, yet by reason of the Advantages they made of the Woods, Rocks, Hills, and Bogs, for their Retreat, we could do them little hurt, save by seizing their Horses and Cattel. In the absence of this Party from the Army, the Enemy with two thousand Foot made a Sally out of *Limerick* so unexpectedly upon our Men, that they had almost surprized our Guard of Horse; but ours immediately mounting, and

and being not accuſtomed to be beaten, charged them, and notwithſtanding the Inequality of the Forces, they being much ſuperiour to us in Number, put them to a ſtand, till a Party of Horſe and Foot came to their Relief, and forced the Enemies to retreat under the Walls of the Town, from whence their Men fired ſo thick upon ours, that their own Men had time to get into the Town.

When this Account was brought from Sir *Hardreſs Waller* to the Deputy, he was upon his Return to the Army before *Limerick*, having left me with about two thouſand Horſe and Foot, as well to eaſe our Quarters about the Town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to perſwade the Gariſon of *Clare-Caſtle*, a ſtrong Place, and ſituated upon the River, to ſurrender. To that end being arrived in the Army, he ſent one Lieutenant Colonel *White*, who had ſerved the Enemy, and now had a Commiſſion to raiſe Forces for the King of *Spain*, with an Order to me, to permit him to go to the ſaid Gariſon, that he might inform them of the Impoſſibility of their receiving any Relief, and of the Neceſſities to which *Limerick* was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make ſpeedy proviſion for themſelves, and to liſt under him: but his Deſign proving ineffectual, I found my ſelf obliged to return to the Camp before *Limerick*, where we made proviſion for a Winter-Siege.

Great

Great Numbers of People endeavoured to get out of the Town, ſent out by the Gariſon either as uſeleſs Perſons, or to ſpread the Contagion amongſt us. The Deputy commanded them to return, and threatned to ſhoot any that ſhould attempt to come out for the future: But this not being ſufficient to make them deſiſt, he cauſed two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the reſt to be whipped back into the Town. One of thoſe that were to be hanged was the Daughter of an old Man, who was in that number which was to be ſent back: He deſired that he might be hanged in the room of his Daughter, but that was refuſed, and he with the reſt driven back into the Town. After which a Gibbet was erected in the ſight of the Town-Walls, and one or two Perſons hanged up, who had been condemned for other Crimes, that thoſe within might ſuppoſe that Execution to be for coming out; and by this means they were ſo terrified, that we were no farther diſturbed on that account.

The Deputy, upon Information received that ſome in the Town were deſirous to ſurrender, and that others did violently oppoſe them, endeavoured by Letters and Meſſages to foment the Diviſion, declaring againſt ſeveral Perſons by name that were moſt active and obſtinate for holding out, that they ſhould have no Benefit by the Articles to be agreed upon, ſeverely inveighing againſt a Generation of Men

whom he called Souldiers of Fortune, that made a trade of the War, and valued not the Lives or Happineſs of the People. This wrought the deſired effect, and ſo encouraged the complying Party, that it was carried for a Treaty, and Commiſſioners again appointed on each ſide. We inſiſted that about ſeventeen of the principal Perſons in the Place ſhould be excepted out of the Articles, of which number were Col. *Hugh O Neal* the Governour, the Mayor of the City, the Biſhops of *Limerick* and *Emmene*, Major General *Purcel*, Sir *Geoffrey Galloway*, Sir *Jeffrey Barrow*, one *Wolf* a Prieſt, Sir *Richard Everard* and others. But theſe made ſo ſtrong a Party that the Treaty was broke up without any Agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by Force. In order to which the Deputy cauſed the great Guns to be landed from the Ships, and others to be brought from the adjacent Gariſons. With theſe he erected a Battery againſt the Town in the moſt convenient Place that could poſſibly have been found, being againſt a part of the Wall, which tho it was of the ſame Height and Thickneſs with the reſt of it, and alſo as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with Earth within, as all the other Parts were, nor had any Counterſcarp without.

In the mean time the Parliament ſeeing a Period put to the War in *England* and *Scotland*, and that of *Ireland* drawing towards a Concluſion, reſolved to gratify ſuch Officers as the General

† recom-

recommended to their Favour; and thereupon settled a thousand Pounds yearly on Major General *Lambert*, three hundred on Major General *Overton*, the same on Col. *Pride* and Col. *Whalley*; five hundred Pounds annually on Commissary General *Reynolds*, a thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord *Broghil*. They also settled four thousand Pounds a Year on the Lord General himself, out of the Estates of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Marquis of *Worcester*, besides the two thousand five hundred Pounds a Year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him by all means possible to the performance of his Duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an Act to be brought in for settling two thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Lord Deputy *Ireton*; the News of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, *They had many just Debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such Presents; that he had no need of their Land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the Service of the Nation, than so liberal in disposing of the Publick Treasure.* And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the State to the best Advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own Purse and Person in the Publick Service.

Our Battery being now in order, and the Regiments that were appointed to ſtorm diſpoſed to their ſeveral Poſts, we began to fire; directing all our Shot to one particular part of the Wall, wherein we made ſuch a Breach, that the Enemy not daring to run any farther Hazard, beat a Parley, and ſoon came to a Reſolution to ſurrender upon the Articles we had offered before, delivering up the Eaſt-gate of the out-Town, which was ſeparated by a River, having a Draw-bridg over it from the other Town. The Deputy ordered all the Arms and Ammunition to be carefully preſerved, and the Souldiers who were not of the Town, to be drawn up between the Place and our Army, that ſuch as deſired it might have Convoys to conduct them to their reſpective Parties; and that thoſe who would return to their Habitations, might have Paſſes granted to that effect. The Governour Col. *Hugh O Neal* met the Deputy at the Gate; where he preſented him with the Keys of the City, and gave order for the marching out of the Souldiers, who were not Townſmen, according to the Articles. They were in number about two thouſand five hundred Men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the Plague. Several of them alſo lay unburied in the Church-yard. The Governour waited on the Deputy to ſhew him the Stores of Arms, Ammunition and Proviſions, which were ſufficient to have laſted near three Months longer.

He ſhewed him alſo the Fortifications, and whatſoever elſe he deſired of him, withal acquainting him, that nine or ten of thoſe who were excepted from the Benefit of the Articles had ſurrendred themſelves to his Mercy, and were waiting his Orders in a certain Houſe which he named: Upon which the Deputy commanded a Guard to be ſet upon them, and committed the Governour alſo to their Cuſtody. The Biſhop of *Emmene* and Major General *Purcel*, with *Wolf* the Prieſt, were taken in the Peſt-houſe, where they had hid themſelves. *Jeffery Barrow* and Sir *Geoffrey Galloway* ſurrendred themſelves. Two days after the Delivery of the Town the Mayor came to the Place of Worſhip, where our Court of Guard was met; and whether by his Words or Actions he gave cauſe of Suſpicion I cannot tell, but they ſeized him, and upon Examination found who he was; whereupon they committed him to Priſon. The Biſhop of *Limerick* was the only Perſon excepted that was yet undiſcovered; but we afterwards underſtood him to be one of a more peaceable Spirit than the reſt. A Court Martial was aſſembled, and the Biſhop of *Emmene*, with Major General *Purcel*, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to ſay why they ſhould not die according to the Sentence paſſed upon them. The Biſhop ſaid, that having many Sins to confeſs, he deſired time to prepare himſelf to that purpoſe, which was granted. Major General *Purcel* fell

upon his Knees, and begged earneſtly for his Life, but that was denied. This poor Man was of ſo low a Spirit, that wanting Courage at the time of his Execution, he ſtood in need of two Muſqueteers to ſupport him. The Biſhop died with more Reſolution, and *Wolf* the Prieſt was alſo executed. The Governour and *Jeffrey Barrow* were alſo condemned to die; but the Deputy reſolving to hear them, demanded of the Governour what he had to ſay for himſelf: who anſwered, that the War had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the Invitation of his Country-men; that he had always demeaned himſelf as a fair Enemy; and that the ground of his Exception from the Articles, being his encouraging to hold out, tho there was no hope of Relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely Surrender, as indeed he made it appear; and therefore hoped, that he ſhould enjoy the Benefit of the Articles, in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the Keys of the Town, with all the Arms, Ammunition and Proviſions, without Embezlement, and his own Perſon alſo to the Deputy. But the Blood formerly ſhed at *Clonmel*, where this Col. *O Neal* was Governour, had made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Deputy, that his Judgment, which was of great weight with the Court, moved them a ſecond time to vote him to die, tho ſome of us earneſtly oppoſed it, for the Reaſons before mentioned by himſelf;

and

and becauſe whatſoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to theſe Articles, which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the Civil Magiſtrate for the ſame. The Court having paſſed Sentence of Death a ſecond time againſt him, the Deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own Opinion, which had been obſerved to be his greateſt Infirmity, obſerving ſome of the Officers to be unſatisfied with this Judgment, referred it again to the Conſideration of the Court, who by their third Vote conſented to ſave his Life. *Jeffrey Barrow* having the ſame Queſtion put to him with the reſt, anſwered, that it was not juſt to exclude him from Mercy, becauſe he had been engaged in the ſame Cauſe as we pretended to fight for, which was for the Liberty and Religion of his Country. The Deputy replied, That *Ireland* being a Conquered Country, the Engliſh Nation might with Juſtice aſſert their Right of Conqueſt: That they had been treated by the late Government far beyond their Merits, or the Rules of Reaſon; notwithſtanding which they had barbarouſly murdered all the Engliſh that fell into their hands, robbed them of their Goods which they had gained by their Induſtry, and taken away the Lands which they had purchaſed with their Money: That touching the Point of Religion, there was a wide Difference alſo between us, we only contending to preſerve our natural Right therein,

without impoſing our Opinions upon other Men; whereas they would not be contented unleſs they might have Power to compel all others to ſubmit to their Impoſitions upon pain of Death. The Council of War looking upon what he had ſaid for himſelf to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the Mayor alſo; and the Sentence was executed accordingly.

Limerick being taken, it was debated in a Council of War, whether we ſhould march to *Galway* in order to reduce that Place, which had been beſieged for ſome time by Sir *Charles Coote* and Commiſſary General *Reynolds*. I concurred with the Deputy, that the Gariſon being under a great Conſternation by the Loſs of *Limerick*, would probably be ſoon brought to Reaſon; but moſt of the Officers complaining of the ill Condition of their Men through Sickneſs and hard Service, repreſenting alſo the near Approach of Winter, we being already entred into the Month of *November*, the Deputy contented himſelf to ſend only a Summons to General *Preſton* Governour of *Galway*, with Offers of ſuch Conditions as were firſt tendred to thoſe of *Limerick*, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that if he refuſed them, he ſhould have no better than they had been lately obliged to ſubmit to. This Propoſition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the Event, took Shipping ſoon after, and went beyond Sea.

Whilſt

Whilſt the Deputy was ſettling Affairs at *Limerick*, he ordered me with a Party to march into the County of *Clare* to reduce ſome Places in thoſe Parts. Accordingly I marched with about two thouſand Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe to *Inchecroghnan*, fifteen Miles from *Limerick*; but it being late before we began our March, and Night overtaking us before we could reach that Place, as we were paſſing the Bridg, one of my Horſes that carried my Waters and Medicines fell into the River, which proved a great Loſs to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before *Clare-Caſtle*, and ſummoned it, whereupon they ſent out Commiſſioners to treat, tho the Place was of very great Strength; and after three or four hours Debate, we came to an Agreement, by which the Caſtle was to be delivered to me the next Morning, the Enemy leaving Hoſtages with us for the performance of their part. That Night I lay in my Tent upon a Hill, where the Weather being very tempeſtuous, and the Seaſon far advanced, I took a very dangerous Cold. The next Morning the Enemy marched out of the Caſtle, and received Paſſes from me to return home, according to the Articles. After which having appointed Col. *Foulk* and a Gariſon to defend it, I marched towards *Carickgoholt*. That Night my Cold increaſed, and the next Morning I found my ſelf ſo much diſcompoſed, that Adjutant General *Allen*, who was then with us, earneſtly preſſed

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me to go aboard one of the Veſſels that attended our Party with Ammunition, Artillery and Proviſions, and to appoint a Perſon to command them in my Abſence. But being unwilling to quit the Charge committed to my Care, I clothed my ſelf as warm as I could, putting on a Fur Coat over my Buff, and an oiled one over that; by which means I prevented the farther Increaſe of my Diſtemper, and ſo ordered our Quarters that Night, that I lay in my own Bed ſet up in an Iriſh Cabin, where about break of day I fell into ſo violent a Sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two Troops of Horſe for my Guard, after I had given Orders for the reſt of the Men to march. In this Condition I continued about two hours, and tho my Sweating had not ceaſed, I mounted in order to overtake my Party, who had a bitter day to march in, the Wind and the Hail beating ſo violently in our Faces, that the Horſes being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this Extremity of Weather the poor Foot were neceſſitated to wade through a Branch of the Sea, near a quarter of a Mile over, up to the Waſte in water. At Night we arrived within view of *Carickgoholt*, my Diſtemper being but little abated, and my Body in a continual Sweat. The next day I ſummoned the Gariſon to ſurrender the Caſtle: In anſwer to which they ſent out Commiſſioners to treat, who at firſt inſiſted upon very high Terms; but finding us reſolved not to grant their Propoſitions,

positions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendred the Place. Liberty was given by the Articles to such as desired it, to go and join the Lord *Muskerry*'s Party in the County of *Kerry:* the rest to return home, with promise of Protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, excepting only such who should appear to have been guilty of Murder in the first Year of the War, or afterwards. Having placed a Garison in *Carickgoholt*, I returned towards *Limerick*, and being on my March thither, I was met by an Officer of the Guard, with Orders from the Deputy for my Return; who thinking it impossible to reduce this Garison by Force in such a Season, was unwilling that the Souldiers should remain longer in the Field, exposed to such cruel and sharp Weather. The Messenger also acquainted me, that the Deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the Country, in order to the more equal distribution of Winter-quarters and Garisons, as to let us see that he would not command any Service, but such as he was willing to take a share of himself. Upon this advice I hastned with a Party to meet him, giving Orders for the rest to follow as fast as they could conveniently. At our Meeting I gave him an account of what I had done, with which he was very well satisfied. After two days March, without any thing remarkable but bad Quarters, we entred into the Barony of *Burren*, of which it is said, that it is a Coun-

Country where there is not Water enough to drown a Man, Wood enough to hang one, nor Earth enough to bury him; which laſt is ſo ſcarce, that the Inhabitants ſteal it from one another, and yet their Cattle are very fat; for the Graſs growing in Turfs of Earth, of two or three Foot ſquare, that lie between the Rocks, which are of Limeſtone, is very ſweet and nouriſhing. Being in theſe Parts we went to *Lemmene*, a Houſe of that *Connor O Bryan* whom we had killed near *Inchecroghnan*; and finding it indifferent ſtrong, being built with Stone, and having a good Wall about it, we put a Gariſon into it, and furniſhed it with all things neceſſary. The next day the Deputy with a Party of Horſe went to view ſome other Places where he deſigned to appoint Gariſons, in order to prevent the ſending of Proviſions into *Galway*, to which this Country lies contiguous. I was very deſirous to attend him according to my Duty, but he having obſerved my Diſtemper to continue upon me, would not permit it; and when I preſſed it more earneſtly, he poſitively commanded me to ſtay. That day there fell abundance of Rain and Snow, which was accompanied with a very high Wind, whereby the Deputy took a very great Cold that diſcovered it ſelf immediately upon his Return; but we could not perſwade him to go to bed, till he had determined a Cauſe that was before him and the Court Martial, touching an Officer of the Army, who was accuſed

accuſed of ſome Violence done to the Iriſh; and as in all Caſes he carried himſelf with the utmoſt impartiality, ſo he did in this, diſmiſſing the Officer, tho otherwiſe an uſeful Man, from his Command for the ſame. The next day we marched towards *Clare-Caſtle*, and found the way ſo rocky, that we rode near three Miles together upon one of them, whereby moſt of our Horſes caſt their Shoes; ſo that though every Troop came provided with Horſe-ſhoes, which were delivered to them out of the Stores, yet before that day's March was over, a Horſe-ſhoe was ſold for five ſhillings.

The next morning the Lady *Honoria Obryan*, Daughter to the late Earl of *Thomond*, being accuſed of protecting the Goods and Cattle of the Enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abuſing the favour of the Deputy's Safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous Carriage from her; ſhe burſt out into Tears, and aſſured him, if he would forgive her, that ſhe would never do the like again, deſiring me, after the Deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with him for the continuance of his favour to her: which when I acquainted him with, he ſaid, *As much a Cynick as I am, the Tears of this Woman moved me*; and thereupon gave order that his Protection ſhould be continued to her. From hence I would have attended him to *Limerick*; but ſo much more

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care did he take of me than of himſelf, that he would not ſuffer it; deſiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at *Bonratto*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Thomond*'s, in order to recover my health, and to come to him on Monday morning at *Limerick*. Accordingly I came, and found the Deputy grown worſe, having been let blood, and ſweating exceedingly, with a burning Fever at the ſame time. Yet for all this he ceaſed not to apply himſelf to the Publick buſineſs, ſettling Gariſons and diſtributing Winter-quarters, which was all that remained to be done of the Military Service for that year. I endeavoured to perſwade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate Labours for his Country would much impair, if not utterly deſtroy him; but he had ſo totally neglected himſelf during the Siege of *Limerick*, not putting off his Clothes all that time, except to change his Linen, that the malignant Humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perſpire, became confined to his Body, and rendred him more liable to be infected by the Contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I ſaw the event of his Diſtemper; but he ſuppoſing my Family was by this time come to *Dublin*, would not permit me to ſtay, and I finding I could in no way be ſerviceable to him, ſubmitted to his deſires. I found the Commiſſioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, and acquainted them with the State of Affairs in thoſe Parts from whence I came, and with the Reſo-

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lutions taken by the Deputy at *Limerick*; but ſoon after my arrival, the ſad news of his Death was brought to us, which was univerſally lamented by all good Men, more eſpecially becauſe the Publick was thereby deprived of a moſt faithful, able and uſeful Servant.

The Commiſſioners of Parliament taking into their conſideration what method to obſerve in that Conjuncture, and preſuming that my Command in the Army was next to that of the Deputy, reſolved by a Letter to acquaint the Officers of our Forces in *Ireland* with their judgment, and to require them to yield Obedience to me accordingly. I earneſtly deſired them to forbear ſending any ſuch Letter, which I did, not out of a feigned modeſty, but from a real ſenſe of the weight of ſuch an Undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important Station: For tho the Work ſeemed to be almoſt finiſhed, yet there remained great Difficulties behind, the Enemy poſſeſſing ſome ſtrong Places and Iſlands, and having many thouſands yet in the Field; there being alſo in the Parliament's Pay between ſeven and eight thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, with above two and twenty thouſand Foot. For theſe and other Reaſons I deſired them that they would reſerve the Power to themſelves, till the Parliament ſhould ſend over ſome Perſon to undertake that Employment, which they might do ſoon enough; the ſeaſon of Action being already paſt, the

Troops

Troops disperſed into their Winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next Spring; acquainting them, that being one of their number, I could be as ſerviceable in their Deliberations and Reſolutions, as if I were entruſted with the ſole Power. But all that I could ſay was not ſufficient to diſſwade them from ſending the Letter before mentioned; and tho it met with a general ſubmiſſion, yet I reſolved not to undertake any thing without their Advice and Conſent, which they readily promiſed to afford me.

Some of General *Cromwell*'s Relations, who were not ignorant of his vaſt Deſigns now on foot, cauſed the Body of the Lord Deputy *Ireton* to be tranſported into *England*, and ſolemnly interred at *Weſtminſter* in a magnificent Monument at the Publick Charge: Who if he could have foreſeen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his deſire that his Body might have found a Grave where his Soul left it, ſo much did he deſpiſe thoſe pompous and expenſive Vanities; having erected for himſelf a more glorious Monument in the hearts of good Men, by his affection to his Country, his abilities of Mind, his impartial Juſtice, his diligence in the Publick Service, and his other Vertues, which were a far greater Honour to his Memory, than a Dormitory amongſt the Aſhes of Kings, who, for the moſt part, as they had governed others by their Paſſions, ſo were they themſelves as much governed by them.

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The Isles of *Scilly* and *Man* were reduced to the Obedience of the Commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at least not coming to my knowledg, I purposely omit the relation of those Actions.

About this time we were informed that Sir *George Ayscue*, who had been sent by the Parliament to the Western Islands, which still continued in Arms against them, arrived at the *Barbadoes* on the *26th* of *October*, 1651. and having opened a Passage into the Harbour by firing some great Shot, seized upon twelve of their Ships without opposition. The next morning he sent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby* to submit to the Authority of the Parliament of *England*; but he not acknowledging any such Power, declared his Resolution to keep the Island for the King's Service. But the News of the Defeat of the *Scots* and their King at *Worcester* being brought to Sir *George Ayscue*, together with an intercepted Letter from the Lady *Willoughby*, containing the same Account; he summoned him a second time, and accompanied his Summons with his Lady's Letter to assure him of the truth of that report. But the Lord *Willoughby* relying upon his Numbers, and the fewness of those that were sent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen Sail, returned an Answer of the like substance with the former. Whereupon Sir *George Ayscue* sent two hundred Men on shore, commanded by Captain *Morrice*, to attack a Quarter of the Enemies that

lay by the Harbour, which they executed ſucceſsfully by taking the Fort and about forty Priſoners, with four Pieces of Cannon, which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the *Virginia* Fleet arriving at the *Barbadoes*, it was thought fit to ſend a third Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*; but finding that neither this, nor the Declaration ſent to them by the Commiſſioners of Parliament to the ſame purpoſe, produced any effect, Sir *George Ayſcue* landed ſeven hundred Men from his own and the *Virginia* Fleet, giving the Command of them to the ſame Captain *Morrice*, who fell upon thirteen hundred of the Enemies Foot and three Troops of their Horſe, and beat them from their Works, killing many of their Men, and taking about a hundred Priſoners, with all their Guns. The Loſs on our ſide was inconſiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet theſe Succeſſes were not ſufficient to accompliſh the Work, there being above five thouſand Horſe and Foot in the Iſland, and our *Virginia* Fleet preparing to depart for want of Proviſions. In this conjuncture Colonel *Muddiford*, who commanded a Regiment in the Iſland, by the means of a Friend that he had in our Fleet, made his Terms, and declared for the Parliament. Many of his Friends following his Example, did the like, and in conjunction with him encamped under the protection of our Fleet. Upon this the moſt part of the Iſland were inclined to join

 us;

us; but the Lord *Willoughby* prevented them by placing Guards on all the Avenues to our Camp, and designed to charge our Men with his Body of Horse, wherein he was much superior to them, had not a Cannon-Ball that was fired at random, beat open the door of a Room, where he and his Council of War were sitting; which taking off the Head of the Sentinel who was placed at the door, so alarmed them all, that he changed his design, and retreated to a Place two Miles distant from the Harbour. Our Party, consisting of two thousand Foot and one hundred Horse, advancing towards him, he desired to treat; which being accepted, Colonel *Muddiford*, Colonel *Collyton*, Mr. *Searl* and Captain *Pack*, were appointed Commissioners by Sir *George Ayscue*; and by the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Richard Pierce*, Mr. *Charles Pym*, Colonel *Ellis* and Major *Byham*. By these it was concluded, that the Islands of *Barbadoes*, *Nevis*, *Antego* and *St. Christophers* should be surrendered to the Parliament of *England*: That the Lord *Willoughby*, Colonel *Walrond*, and some others, should be restored to their Estates; and that the Inhabitants of the said Isles should be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they possessed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. This News being brought to *Virginia*, they submitted also, where one Mr. *George Ludlow*, a Relation of mine, served the Parliament in the like manner, as Col. *Muddiford* had done at the *Barbadoes*.

The Parliament of *England* being desirous after all these Successes, to convince even their Enemies, that their principal design was to procure the happiness and prosperity of all that were under their Government, sent Commissioners to *Scotland* to treat concerning an Union of that Nation with *England* in one Commonwealth; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that Obedience should be given to the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Commissioners appointed to this end on the part of the Parliament, were Sir *Henry Vane*, the Chief Justice *St. Johns*, Mr. *Fenwick*, Major *Salloway*, Major General *Lambert*, Colonel *Titchborn*, Major General *Dean* and Colonel *Monk*. This Proposition of Union was chearfully accepted by the most judicious amongst the *Scots*, who well understood how great a condescension it was in the Parliament of *England*, to permit a People they had conquered, to have a part in the Legislative Power.

The States-General being highly displeased with the late Act of Navigation passed by the Parliament, which they accounted to be a great obstruction to their Trade, resolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end they sent three Ambassadors to *England*, who pretending a desire to finish the Treaty begun formerly between the Two States, requested that things might be as they were at the time of our Ambassador's de-

parture from *Holland*, designing thereby that the Act lately passed for the Encouragement of our Seamen should be suspended, and all such Merchandizes restored as had been seized from the Dutch by virtue of the said Act. The Parliament refusing to consent to this Proposal, the States-General gave Orders for the equipping a considerable Fleet, consisting of about a hundred Ships of War, giving notice to the Parliament by their Ambassadors of these Preparations, and assuring them that they were not design'd to offend the English Nation, with whom they desired to maintain a friendly Correspondence, and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own Subjects in their Trade and Navigation. But the Parliament being unwilling to rely upon the Promises of those, who by their past and present Actions had manifested little Friendship to us, resolved to make what Preparations they could to defend themselves.

This Alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our duty in *Ireland*, fearing that the *Hollanders* might transport some foreign Forces by their Fleet, to the Assistance of the Irish, who were not only still numerous in the Field, but had also divers Places of Strength to retreat to. Our Suspicions were farther increased by the Advices we received of a Treaty on foot between the Duke of *Lorain* and *Theobald* Viscount *Taff*, with other Irish, to bring the Forces of that Duke into *Ireland* against us,

in order to extirpate all Hereticks out of that Nation, to re-eſtabliſh the Romiſh Religion in all Parts of it, and to reſtore the Iriſh to their Poſſeſſions; all which being performed, he ſhould deliver up the Authority to the King of *Great Britain*, and aſſiſt him againſt his Rebellious Subjects in *England:* That all *Ireland* ſhould be ingaged for his Re-imburſement: That *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Athenree*, *Athlone*, *Waterford*, and the Fort of *Duncannon*, ſhould be put into his hands as Cautionary Places, with other things of the ſame nature. The Report of this Agreement being ſpread amongſt the Iriſh, encouraged them to make all poſſible Oppoſition againſt us, in expectation of the promiſed Succours. The Commiſſioners of the Parliament on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to diſpoſe their Affairs in the beſt manner they could for the Publick Service; in order to which they ſent to the ſeveral Commanders of our Army to excite them to the diſcharge of their Duty, making proviſion of Arms, Ammunition, Clothes, Tents, and all things neceſſary to the carrying on the War in the enſuing Spring. A general Meeting of Officers was alſo appointed to be held at *Kilkenny* to conſult about the beſt Method of employing our Arms againſt the Enemy: And becauſe the Propoſitions offered by the late Lord Deputy to thoſe of *Galway*, had been no farther proſecuted by reaſon of his Death; Orders were diſpatched to Sir *Charles Coote*, autho-

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rizing him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the Conditions at, or before the ninth of the next *January*. According to their Orders the Officers met at *Kilkenny*, by whom being informed of what they thought necessary for the ensuing Service, we acquainted the Parliament and Council of State with the Particulars of such things as were requisite, desiring them to send them over with all convenient speed, that no time might be lost, when the Season of the Year should permit us to take the Field. We published two Proclamations to prevent the Country from supplying the Enemy with Arms and other Necessaries; wherein drawing a Line as it were about the Irish Quarters, we required all Persons to withdraw themselves and their Goods from the places of their resort within a limited time; which if they refused to do, we declared them Enemies, and ordered all Officers and Souldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding also all Smiths, Armourers and Sadlers that lived in the Country to retire in twenty days with all their Families, Forges and Instruments, into some Garison of the Parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their Goods and Tools, besides six months Imprisonment for the first Offence, and of Death for the second. We ordered also that all those who had withdrawn themselves out of our Protection, and joined with the Enemy, since the coming over of General *Cromwell*, should be deprived of the benefit of Quarter. Having pub-

liſhed theſe and other Orders of the like tenour, we appointed the Lord *Broghil*, Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Axtel*, and the reſt of the Officers, to cauſe them to be put in execution, as occaſion ſhould require.

Having finiſhed our Affairs at *Kilkenny*, and diſmiſſed the Officers to their reſpective Quarters, I reſolved to go to *Portumna* to make all things ready for the Siege of *Galway*. Being on my March on the other ſide of *Nenagh*, an advanced Party found two of the Rebels, one of whom was killed by the Guard before I came up to them, the other was ſaved; and being brought before me at *Portumna*, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged? he only anſwered, *If you pleaſe*; ſo inſenſibly ſtupid were many of theſe poor Creatures. The Commiſſioners having done their buſineſs in this Place, and given Directions for the carrying on the Siege of *Galway*, with Power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir *Charles Coote*, we returned to *Dublin*, and at our arrival were informed, that the Barony of *Burren* relying upon the ſecurity of their places of Retreat, had refuſed to pay the Contributions which they had promiſed; upon which Sir *Hardreſs Waller* had been obliged to lay the Country waſte, and to ſeize what he could find, that it might be no longer uſeful to the Enemy. We had advice alſo from *Ulſter*, that ſome of our Troops had killed and drowned about a hundred and forty Tories who infeſted that Province with their Robberies.

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The time limited by the Proclamation, requiring the Iriſh to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired, I marched with a Party of Horſe and Foot into the Faſtneſſes of *Wicklo*, as well to make Examples of ſuch as had not obeyed the Proclamation, as to place a Gariſon there, to prevent the Excurſions of the Enemy. *Talbot*'s Town was the Place I thought fitteſt for that end; which having rendred defenſible againſt any ſudden attempt, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, I marched farther into the Country. The next morning I divided my Men into three Parties, ſending away Colonel *Pretty* with one of them to his own Quarters, leſt the Enemy ſhould fall upon them in his abſence; with the other two we ſcoured by different ways, the Paſſes and Retreats of the Iriſh, but met not with many of them; our Parties being ſo big, that the Iriſh, who had Sentinels placed upon every Hill, gave noice of our March to their Friends: ſo that upon our Approach, they ſtill fled to their Bogs and Woods. When I came to *Dundrum*, a Place lying in the heart of the Enemy's Quarters, I perceived the Walls and Roof of an old Church ſtanding, wherein I placed Captain *Jacob* with his Company; who was afterwards very ſerviceable againſt the Enemy. The like Methods being taken by the Lord *Broghil*, Colonel *Zanchey*, Colonel *Abbot* and other Officers, the Iriſh were reduced to great Extremities.

About

About fourſcore of the Inhabitants of *Galway* went privately out of the Town, and ſeizing a hundred Head of Cattel, deſigned to drive them thither; but being upon their Return, they were met by a Party of ours, who killed threeſcore of them, and recovered all the Cattel. This Diſappointment was attended with another much greater; for two Veſſels loaden with Corn endeavouring to get into the Harbour of *Galway*, being purſued by two of our Frigats, one of them was taken, and the other forced upon the Rocks near the Iſle of *Arran*, where ſhe was loſt.

The Parliament having received an Account of the hopeful Condition of their Affairs in *Ireland*, and of the great Appearance there was of a ſpeedy Determination of that War, appointed a Committee to ſummon before them thoſe Adventurers, who in the Year 1641 had advanced Monies upon the Lands in *Ireland*. The ſaid Perſons being met at Grocers-Hall, cloſe twenty eight Deputies to manage the Buſneſs with the Committee in the Names of al the reſt. In conformity to this Proceeding the Commiſſioners of Parliament in *Ireland* began to conſider of Qualifications and Heads under which the Iriſh ſhould be brought, that the Innocent might be freed from their Fears and Apprehenſions; that Juſtice might be done, and the Guilty puniſhed according to the different nature of their Crimes: Of which the Iriſh having notice, and conſidering the declining

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Condition of their Affairs in all Parts, ſent a Letter directed to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England* from the Principal, as they called themſelves, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and ſubſcribed by *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, on the behalf of their Aſſembly held at *Glanmaliero* in the Province of *Leinſter*; repreſenting, That being adviſed that the Commonwealth of *England* is in a condition to give honourable and ſure Terms to them, they are in an entire Diſpoſition to receive them; and to that effect deſire in the Name of that and the reſt of the Provinces, a ſafe Conduct for every one of them, with Blanks ſubſcribed to that end, that they may impower and ſend ſome of their Members to preſent Propoſitions to the Commiſſioners that are or ſhould be authorized to that purpoſe. To this the Commiſſioners anſwered in ſubſtance, That tho the Letter was ſubſcribed by one, under the pretext of an Authority which they could not own without prejudice to that of the Parliament; yet for the ſatisfaction of thoſe concerned, they thought fit to declare, That the Eſtabliſhment of this Nation doth of Right belong only to the Parliament of *England*, who will diſtinguiſh thoſe who have always lived peaceably, or have already ſubmitted to their Authority, and put themſelves under their Protection, from ſuch as have committed and countenanced the Murders and Maſſacres of the Proteſtants during the firſt Year of the Rebellion, as well as from thoſe

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who continue ſtill in Arms to oppoſe their Authority: That they cannot in Juſtice conſent to an Act ſo prejudicial to the Peace of the Country, as would involve quiet and peaceable People in the ſame Proſecution with thoſe who are in open Hoſtility: That they cannot grant ſafe Conducts to ſuch as perſiſt in their Oppoſition to the Parliament, to aſſemble from all Provinces, and to communicate their Deſigns to each other: But that all thoſe who will lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Commonwealth, ſhall have as favourable Conditions as they can juſtly expect.

This Reſolution of the Commiſſioners being made publick, the Iriſh fell upon another Expedient: in purſuance of which the Earl of *Clanrickard*, who had been left Deputy by the Earl of *Ormond*, ſent a Letter directed to me, then Commander in Chief of the Forces of the Parliament in *Ireland*, in the Words following.

SIR;

" MANY of the Nobility, Clergy, and
" other Perſons of Quality, Subjects of
" this Kingdom, with the Corporation of *Gal-*
" *way*, having conſidered the preſent State of
" Affairs, and the ruinous Effects which this
" long War hath produced, have ſolicited me
" to deſire of you a Conference for the eſta-
" bliſhment of the Repoſe of this Nation, and
" to obtain a ſafe Conduct for the Commiſſi-
" oners,

" oners, whom by their Advice I ſhall judg
" capable to be ſent to you for that end. It is
" this which hath obliged me to ſend you an
" Expreſs, with this Proteſtation, that I ſhall
" not abandon them, till I ſee ſuch Conditions
" granted them, as they may with Honour ac-
" cept: for want of which I am reſolved to
" continue the Authority and Protection of his
" Majeſty over them, even to Extremity, not
" doubting but by Divine Aſſiſtance, with the
" Forces we have already, and the Succours
" which ſhall be ſent us by his Majeſty and
" Allies, we ſhall be found in a condition to
" change the preſent State of Affairs, or at leaſt
" to render your former Conqueſts of little
" advantage; and in the end to ſell our Lives
" at a dear rate if we ſhall be forced thereto:
" the which leaving to your Conſideration, and
" expecting your certain Anſwer and Reſolu-
" tion, I remain,

SIR,

24 *March*, 1652.

Your Servant,

CLANRICKARD.

POSTSCRIPT.

" If you pleaſe to ſend a ſafe Conduct, I
" deſire it may be addreſſed to Sir *Charles Coote*,
" or whom you ſhall think fit near to this
" Place,

" Place, with a Paſs for the number of five " Commiſſioners, and their Retinue of about " twenty Perſons, to the end that having no- " tice thereof, I may ſend a Liſt of the Names " of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

To this I returned the following Anſwer.

My Lord;

" IN anſwer to yours of the 24*th* of *March*, " by which you propoſe a Treaty for the " Settlement of this Country, and deſire a ſafe " Conduct for the Commiſſioners you ſhall " judg fit to employ in the management of that " Affair, I think fit, in purſuance of the Ad- " vice of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament " of *England*, and of many Officers of the " Engliſh Army, to advertiſe you, as hath " been already anſwered to thoſe who have " ſent Propoſitions of the like nature, That the " Settlement of this Nation doth of Right be- " long to the Parliament of the Common- " wealth of *England*, to whom we are ob- " liged in duty to leave it; being aſſured, that " they will not capitulate with thoſe who " ought to ſubmit to them, and yet oppoſe " themſelves to their Authority, and upon vain " and frivolous hopes have refuſed ſuch Offers " of Favour as they would gladly accept at " preſent: ſo that I fear they will be con- " ſtrained to proceed againſt them with the " higheſt Severity; which that you may

" pre-

" prevent by your timely Submiſſion, is the " Deſire of,

My Lord,

Your humble Servant,

EDMUND LUDLOW.

That Paſſage in my Anſwer touching their Readineſs to accept ſuch Terms as they had formerly rejected, was grounded upon notice ſent by Sir *Charles Coote*; that the Town of *Galway*, ſince the time limited by the Commiſſioners for their Submiſſion was expired, deſired a Treaty: whereupon I had acquainted him, that ſeeing the Beſieged had refuſed the Conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after ſuch an addition of Trouble and Charge as they had lately put us upon; yet for all this Caution Sir *Charles Coote* concluded a Treaty with them, immediately after the Return of my Anſwer to the Earl of *Clanrickard*; upon Conditions much more advantagious to them than thoſe formerly propoſed, and very prejudicial to the Publick, undertaking to get them ratified by the Commiſſioners of Parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promiſing that they ſhould be inviolably obſerved. The Commiſſioners of Parliament having received the Articles, and conceiving it to be unjuſt as well as impru-

imprudent to give the beſt Terms to thoſe who made the longeſt Oppoſition, and of what dangerous Conſequence it might be, if that Place were not fully ſecured to the Engliſh Intereſt, ſpent the whole Night in Conſultation with the Officers of the Army, and in the end reſolved, That they could not conſent that any ſhould receive the Benefit of thoſe Articles who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the Engliſh in the firſt Year of the War: That they would not oblige themſelves to permit any to live in *Galway*, whom they ſhould hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the Security of the Place: That they cannot conſent that the Burgeſſes ſhall enjoy any more than two thirds of their Eſtates lying near the Town: That they will not ſuffer the Habitations of ſuch as have been forced to quit the Place upon the account of their Affection to the Parliament, to be detained from them. With theſe and ſome other Alterations they declared their Conſent to the reſt of the Articles beforementioned; which if thoſe of the Town refuſed, they ordered that our Men ſhould not enter; and if entred, that they ſhould reſtore the Poſſeſſion of it to the Gariſon: but notwithſtanding this Expedition, the Meſſenger that was diſpatched with the Reſolutions of the Commiſſioners, came too late, and all that could be obtained was a Promiſe from Sir *Charles Coote*, to endeavour to perſwade thoſe of *Galway* to accept of the Articles, with the

the Amendments made by the Commiſſioners.

The Parliament having reſolved upon the Incorporation of *Scotland* with the Nation of *England* into one Free State or Commonwealth, and to reimburſe themſelves ſome part of that Treaſure they had expended in their own Defence againſt the Invaſions of the Scots, declared the Goods and Lands formerly belonging to the Crown of *Scotland* to be confiſcated, and alſo thoſe that were poſſeſſed by ſuch Perſons as had aſſiſted in the Invaſion of *England* by Duke *Hamilton* in the Year 1648, or had appeared in Arms ſince, under the King of Scots, in order to ſubvert the preſent Government; excepting thoſe who ſince the Battel of *Dunbar* had abandoned the ſaid King of Scots, and by their Merits and Services had rendred themſelves worthy of Favour: That all ſuch who are not comprehended under the ſaid Qualifications, and ſhall concur with them in their juſt Enterprize, ſhall receive the Benefit of their Protection, and enjoy their Liberties and Goods equally with the free People of *England*. In purſuance of this Declaration of the Parliament, their Commiſſioners in *Scotland* publiſhed another, wherein they diſcharge from Confiſcation all Merchants and Tradeſmen, who poſſeſs not in Lands or Goods above the Value of five hundred Pounds, and are not Priſoners of War, Souldiers of Fortune, Moſs-Troopers, or ſuch as have killed or committed Outrages againſt

the Engliſh Souldiers, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of War. They alſo emitted a Proclamation, aboliſhing in the name of the Parliament all manner of Authority and Juriſdiction derived from any other Power but that of the Commonwealth of *England*, as well in *Scotland* as in all the Iſles belonging to it. After this they ſummoned the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, to agree to the Incorporation before mentioned; of which eighteen of one and thirty Counties, and twenty four of fifty ſix Cities and Boroughs conſented to ſend their Deputies to the Parliament of *England*, moſt of the reſt excuſing themſelves for want of Money to defray the Expences of their Repreſentatives.

This Buſineſs being accompliſhed, and an Act paſſed for the Incorporation of *England* and *Scotland* into one Commonwealth, the Parliament were prevailed with by the Importunities of ſome of their own Members, and in particular of General *Cromwell*, that ſo he might fortify himſelf by the Addition of new Friends for the carrying on his Deſigns, to paſs an Act of General Pardon and Amneſty: whereby tho it had thirty eight ſeveral Exceptions, many Perſons who deſerved to pay towards the Reimburſement of the Publick, no leſs than thoſe who had been already fined, eſcaped the Puniſhment due to their Miſdemeanours, and the Commonwealth was defrauded of great Sums of Money, by which means they were rendred

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unable to discharge many just Debts owing to such as had served them with Diligence and Fidelity.

In *Ireland* the Rebels were so pressed by our Forces in all Parts, that they began to think it necessary to treat about Conditions of Submission, and many of them obtained Liberty to be transported into foreign Service; wherein the Commissioners of Parliament assisted them with Ships: so that the Irish Officers were in many Places deserted by their own Souldiers. Col. *Fitzpatrick* was the first who submitted, on condition to be transported with his Regiment into the Service of the King of *Spain*, which was a great blow to the Irish Confederacy, who were very desirous to treat in conjunction, hoping to obtain more favourable Terms, in consideration of their Numbers; insomuch that they published Declarations against him, and the Irish Clergy excommunicated him, and all those who joined with him. Notwithstanding which Col. *Odowyer*, Commander in Chief of the Irish in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary*, followed his Example, and proposed a Treaty to Col. *Zanchey*, who having received Instructions from the Commissioners, concluded an Agreement with him; the principal Articles whereof were to this effect: That the Arms and Horses belonging to the Brigade of Col. *Edmund Odowyer* shall be delivered up at a certain price: That he and his Party shall enjoy their personal Estates, and such a proportion

of their real Eſtates as others under their Qualification ſhall be permitted to do: That the Benefit of the Articles ſhall not extend to ſuch as had murdered any of the Engliſh, or had been engaged in the Rebellion during the firſt Year; or to any Romiſh Prieſts, or to thoſe who had been of the firſt General Aſſembly; thoſe alſo who had taken away the Life of any of ours after Quarter given, and thoſe who had deſerted us and joined themſelves to the Enemy, were excepted out of the Treaty: All others to have Liberty to live in our Quarters, or to tranſport themſelves into the Service of any foreign State in Friendſhip with the Commonwealth of *England*.

Whilſt the Ambaſſadors from *Holland* were in Treaty with the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to that end, the Dutch Fleet conſiſting of forty three Ships of War, commanded by the Heer *Van Tromp*, came into the *Downs*. Major *Bourn* having with him a Squadron of eight Men of War, perceiving two of the Dutch Ships making ſail towards him, ſent to them to demand the Reaſon of their Approach; and an Anſwer being returned, that they had a Meſſage to deliver from Admiral *Van Tromp* to the Engliſh Commander of that Squadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpoſe. The Captains of the two Dutch Ships, after they had ſaluted Major *Bourn* by ſtriking the Flag, went on board him, and acquainted him, that they were ſent by their Admiral

miral to let him know, that riding with his Fleet near *Dunkirk*, he had loſt many Cables and Anchors by bad Weather, and was now brought by a North Wind more Southward than he deſigned, of which he thought himſelf obliged to give him notice to prevent any Miſunderſtanding. Major *Bourn* told them he was willing to believe what was ſaid, and that the Truth of it would beſt appear by their ſpeedy Retreat. With this Anſwer the two Captains returned to their Fleet; which coming within Cannon-ſhot of *Dover*-Caſtle, with their Sails up, and Flag at the Top-maſt, not ſaluting the Fort according to Cuſtom, the Gariſon was conſtrained to fire three Guns at the Hollanders, to put them in mind of their Duty: But their Admiral made no Anſwer, and ſtill keeping up his Flag, lay in the Road till the next day about Noon, at which time he weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail towards *Calais*. The reſt of the Engliſh Fleet conſiſting only of thirteen Men of War commanded by General *Blake*, who had been upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, returning into the *Downs* ſoon after the Departure of the Dutch, was joined by Major *Bourn*, and thoſe eight Ships he had with him. But Admiral *Van Tromp* being obliged to take care of ſome rich Merchant Ships bound home to *Holland* from the *Straits*, returned towards the *Downs*; and being come within Cannon-ſhot of our Fleet without ſtriking their Flag, General *Blake* commanded three ſeveral Guns one after the

other to be fired at him. Whereupon he answered with one Gun, which shot through the English Flag, and followed it with a whole Broad-side, setting up a red Standard on his Topmast, as a Signal to the whole Fleet to prepare to fight. The Engagement began about four in the Afternoon, and lasted till nine at Night, with great Loss to the Enemy, and little Damage on our side, tho their Fleet was double our Number. We took two of their Men of War in the Fight, one of which was brought away, and the other being very much shatter'd, sunk down as our Men were carrying her off. The Council of State having received an Account of this Action, made their Report of it to the Parliament, who passed a Vote for the justification of General *Blake*; and resolving to have Satisfaction for this Assault, placed a Guard upon the Dutch Ambassadors, at their Lodgings in *Chelsey*, and sent General *Cromwell* and Mr. *Denis Bond*, a Member of Parliament, down to the Fleet, with Assurances that nothing should be wanting for their Encouragement.

The Event of this Undertaking not answering the Expectations of the Hollanders, serving only to provoke the English Nation, and to publish their own Dishonour, they endeavoured to make the World as well as the Parliament believe, that the Quarrel was begun by General *Blake*, or at least that what had been done was not by their Orders; and therefore desired that

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the Treaty might go on, and that the Prisoners taken in the late Fight might be restored. To this end they sent over the Heer *Paw* of *Heemsted* to carry on the Treaty in conjunction with the Ambassadors they had sent before into *England*. This Minister was received with all the usual Demonstrations of Honour, and being admitted to Audience, pressed for an Accommodation of all Differences, and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility between the two Nations; assuring the Parliament that his Masters had given Orders to their Ships to strike to the English Flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times: But being demanded to shew his Powers, he produced nothing save Letters of Credence and Passports, referring himself to the other Ambassadors in that Point, with whom he made some General Propositions to the Parliament, and desired them to declare their Demands. By these Proceedings of the Dutch, the Parliament perceiving that this Difference was not like to be decided by a Treaty, contented themselves to require Satisfaction for the Injuries received, and Assurance that nothing of that nature should be attempted for the future; which if the Ambassadors would consent to, they declared themselves ready to proceed in the Treaty, and to grant a Cessation of Arms. But so little were they disposed to give the Satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the Cessation which they had so earnestly pressed; and having taken their

Audience of Leave, they broke off the Treaty abruptly, and returned home.

In *Ireland*, tho the Number of thoſe that ſubmitted on condition to be tranſported into foreign Service, was ſo great, that they became a great Burden to us before we could procure Shipping for their Tranſportation; and tho the Enemy had received ſeveral Defeats by our Forces during the Winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken; yet they continued to make Incurſions into our Quarters, carrying away Cattel and other Booty: and having lately ſeized upon the Horſes belonging to two Troops of Dragoons, they were ſo encouraged, that Sir *Walter Dungan*, Commiſſary General of the Enemies Horſe, and Capt. *Scurlock* a forward Officer, and one who had done us much Miſchief, with five hundred Foot and two hundred and fifty Horſe, marched into *Wexford*, with a Deſign to plunder that County. Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, who commanded in thoſe Parts, having informed us of their March, we ſent two Troops of Horſe to his Aſſiſtance, who with them and about four hundred Foot charged the Enemy upon their Return, and after ſome Diſpute routed them, killing two hundred of them upon the Place, and many more, with divers Officers, in the Purſuit; beſides ſeveral of the Iriſh taken Priſoners, with the Loſs of about twenty killed, and a hundred wounded on our ſide. The Booty which the Enemy had gotten

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consisting chiefly in five hundred Cows, was all recovered.

The Season of Action advancing, the Commissioners of Parliament went to *Kilkenny*, as well to confer with the Officers from all Parts of *Ireland*, as to make the necessary Preparations for the ensuing Service; of which the Earl of *Westmeath*, who commanded the Enemies Forces in *Leinster*, having notice, sent to desire a safe Conduct for Commissioners to be named by them to treat with us at *Kilkenny* on their behalf; which being granted, they appointed Commissary General *Dungan*, *Lewis* Viscount of *Glanmaliere*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwel*, Col. *Walter Bagnol*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, and Col. *Thomas Tyrrell*, to be their Commissioners. And on our part, Commissary General *Reynolds*, Col. *Hewetson*, Col. *Lawrence*, Col. *Axtel*, Adjutant General *Allen*, Major *Henry Owen*, and Mr. *James Standish*, Deputy-Treasurer of the Army, were commissionated to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to such Instructions as they received from a General Council; and after several days Conference the Commissioners on each part came to an Agreement upon Terms that were the same in substance with those formerly granted to Col. *Edmund Odowyer* and his Party, with liberty left for the Lord *Muskerry*, Major General *Taaf*, and other Commanders of the Irish in the Provinces of *Munster*, *Connaught*, and *Ulster*, yet in Arms, to come in and accept of the same

ſame Conditions within a limited time. The Articles were approved by the Earl of *Weſtmeath* on the behalf of the Iriſh, and on the part of the Commonwealth of *England* by Me, as Commander in chief of their Forces in *Ireland*.

In the mean time the Committee appointed by the Parliament for the Reformation of the Law in *England*, made a conſiderable progreſs in that matter: Judges were alſo ſent into *Scotland* for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice there, which they performed to the great ſatisfaction of that People. The Parliament alſo appointed a Committee to conſider of means to ſet at work all the Poor throughout the Nation, and to make Proviſion for ſuch as were not able to work, that there might be no Beggar in *England*.

In *Scotland* our Forces having reduced the Caſtle of *Dunotter*, which was the laſt Gariſon of that Nation that held out againſt the Parliament of *England*, it was reſolved to make four conſiderable Forts, one at *Inverneſs*, another at *Leith*, a third at *Ayre*, and a fourth at *St. Johnſtoun*: and becauſe the Enemy being entirely beaten out of the Field, was retired to the mountainous Parts, which to that time had been accounted inacceſſible by the Engliſh; it was agreed to endeavour to clear thoſe Places of them alſo, being perſwaded that where any went before, others might follow after. To this end our Men were divided into three Parties:

ties: the first consisted of Colonel *Overton*'s Regiment of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, commanded by Major *Blackmore*: The second of Colonel *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horse, and one of Foot commanded by Colonel *Lilburn*; and the third was composed of the Regiment of Horse of Major General *Dean*, and of a Regiment of Foot belonging to Lieutenant General *Monk*. Each of these having a Party of Dragoons to attend them, rendezvouzed at *Loughaber*, and from thence fell separately into the Enemy's Quarters, where they killed many of them, and burned their Provisions, pursuing them so close, that as they fled from one Party, they fell into the hands of another; by which means they were in a short time entirely dispersed.

The Irish that submitted according to the Articles, and delivered up their Arms and Horses to the Commissioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about three thousand. But many of them finding themselves within that exception concerning the Murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better Conditions, or, it may be, taking pleasure in their predatory Life, continued still in Arms. Of this number was the Lord *Muskerry*, who commanded the Irish in *Munster*, and at the time of our Treaty with those of *Leinster*, had sent one Colonel *Poor* to *Kilkenny*, to acquaint us that he designed to come in upon the same Conditions; but we suspecting his sincerity, by the

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means of some Letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was necessary in order to reduce him and his Party by force; and having finished our Affairs at *Kilkenny*, I removed with the Commissioners to *Clonmel*, and from thence to *Youghal*, and so to *Cork*.

The Rebels in *Connaught* and *Ulster*, instead of submitting, as was expected, got together a Body of about five thousand Men under the Conduct of the Earl of *Clanrickard* and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, with which they besieged and took the Fort of *Ballishannon*. Whereupon Sir *Charles Coot* and Colonel *Venables* drew out what Forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the Place before the Enemy had notice of their March; who finding themselves surprized, retreated to the Bogs, leaving a small Garison in *Ballishannon*: but being pursued by our Men, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, in which number were thirty Officers, and took from them seven or eight thousand Cows, upon whose Milk they chiefly subsisted, twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their Arms: upon which the Garison they had placed in *Ballishannon*, surrendred upon Articles.

Major General *Lambert* making great Preparations to come over to us in the quality of Deputy to General *Cromwell*, the Commission of the said General to be Lieutenant of *Ireland* expired.

pired. Whereupon the Parliament took that Affair into their Conſideration; and tho there were not wanting many amongſt them, who affirmed the Title and Office of Lieutenant to be more ſutable to a Monarchy than a Free Commonwealth, yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his Commiſſion under the ſame Title. But he, having at that time another Part to act, ſtood up, and declared his ſatisfaction with what had been ſaid againſt conſtituting a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, deſiring that they would not continue him with that Character. Upon which the Queſtion being put, the Parliament willing to believe him in earneſt, ordered it according to his Motion. He farther moved, that tho they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of *Ireland*, they would be pleaſed, in conſideration of the worthy Perſon whom they had formerly approved to go over with the Title of Deputy, to continue that Character to him. But the Parliament having ſuppreſſed the Title and Office of a Lieutenant in *Ireland*, thought it altogether improper to conſtitute a Deputy, who was no more than the Subſtitute of a Lieutenant; and therefore refuſed to conſent to that Propoſal, ordering that he ſhould be inſerted one of the Commiſſioners for Civil Affairs, and conſtituted Commander in chief of their Forces in *Ireland*. In the management of this Affair, Mr. *Weaver*, who was one of the Commiſſioners of *Ireland*, but then at *London*, and ſitting in

in Parliament, was very active, to the great discontent of General *Cromwell*, who endeavouring to perswade the Parliament that the Army in *Ireland* would not be satisfied, unless their Commander in chief came over qualified as Deputy, Mr. *Weaver* assured them that upon his knowledg, all the sober People of *Ireland*, and the whole Army there, except a few factious Persons, were not only well satisfied with the present Government both Civil and Military of that Nation, but also with the Governours who managed the same; and therefore moved that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their Commissions for a longer time. This discourse of Mr. *Weaver* tending to perswade the Parliament to continue me in the Military Command, increased the Jealousie which General *Cromwell* had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the Design he was carrying on to advance himself by the ruin of the Commonwealth. And therefore, since Major General *Lambert* refused to go over with any Character less than that of Deputy, he resolved by any means to place Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* at the head of Affairs in *Ireland*. By which Conduct he procured two great Advantages to himself, thereby putting the Army in *Ireland* into the hands of a person secured to his Interest by the Marriage of his Daughter; and drawing Major General *Lambert* into an enmity towards the Parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find

find it convenient to put his Design in execution.

In the mean time I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the Enemy in *Ireland*, and to that end marched with about 4000 Foot and 2000 Horse towards *Ross* in *Kerry*; where the Lord *Muskerry* made his principal Rendezvouz, and which was the only place of Strength the Irish had left, except the Woods, Bogs and Mountains; being a kind of an Island, encompassed on every part by Water, except on one side, upon which there was a Bog not passable but by a Causway which the Enemy had fortified. In this Expedition I was accompanied by the Lord *Broghil*, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, Major General of the Foot. Being arrived at this Place, I was informed that the Enemy received continual Supplies from those parts that lay on the other side, and were covered with Woods and Mountains; whereupon I sent a Party of two thousand Foot to clear those Woods, and to find out some convenient place for the erecting a Fort, if there should be occasion. These Forces met with some opposition; but at last they routed the Enemy, killing some, and taking others Prisoners; the rest saved themselves by their good Footmanship. Whilst this was doing, I employed that Part of the Army which was with me in fortifying a Neck of Land, where I designed to leave a Party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty with the greatest part of the Horse and Foot to look after the Enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy such

ſuch Boats and other things neceſſary as the Commiſſioners ſent to us by Sea. When we had received our Boats, each of which was capable of containing a hundred and twenty Men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the Water in order to find out the moſt convenient Place for Landing upon the Enemy: which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely Submiſſion, to prevent the Danger that threatned them; and having expreſſed their Deſires to that purpoſe, Commiſſioners were appointed on both Parts to treat. The Articles were the ſame in effect with thoſe granted to the Iriſh in *Leinſter* and other Places. But much time was ſpent in the diſcuſſion of ſome Particulars, eſpecially that concerning the Murder of the Engliſh, which was an Exception we never failed to make; ſo that the Iriſh Commiſſioners ſeeming doubtful whether by the wording that Article they were not all included, deſired that it might be explained; to which we conſented, and it was accordingly done. They alſo made it their Requeſt, that inſtead of that Article relating to their real Eſtates, whereby they were to enjoy ſuch a part as ſhould be allotted to them by the Qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expreſſed, that they wholly ſubmitted to the Mercy of the Parliament therein. The Exerciſe alſo of their Religion was earneſtly inſiſted upon by them; but we refuſed to oblige our ſelves to any thing in that Particular, declaring only,

only, that it was neither the Principle or Practice of the Authority which we ſerved, to impoſe their way of Worſhip upon any by violent means. With theſe Explanations the Commiſſioners, after a Fortnight's Debate, concluded the Agreement, the Lord *Muskerry* and my ſelf confirming it; his Son with Sir *Daniel Obryan* were delivered to me as Hoſtages for the performance of the Articles: in conſequence of which about five thouſand Horſe and Foot laid down their Arms, and ſurrendred their Horſes.

Whilſt this was doing in *Munſter*, Col. *Grace* with ſome Forces that had not ſubmitted, paſſed the *Shannon*, and being joined by many of the Iriſh of *Connaught* and *Galway*, began to grow conſiderable, being about three thouſand, moſt of them Foot. Col. *Ingoldsby* having notice of them, drew together a Party about *Limerick*, and marching with them to find out the Enemy, attacked them at a Paſs, which they diſputed for ſome time; but our Horſe breaking in upon ſome of their Foot, and encouraging the reſt to fall on, the Iriſh quitted their Poſt, and ſhifted for themſelves. In this Action many of them were killed and taken Priſoners, the reſt eſcaping to the Bogs and Woods. After this Defeat Col. *Grace* and his Party was forced to ſubmit, and to that end treated with Col. *Zanchey*, but found that his obſtinate Reſiſtance ſo long had done him no Service; for Col. *Zanchey* upon the Surrender of

Inch to him, and the Submiſſion of Col. *Grace*'s Forces, cauſed a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with other Officers, to be ſhot to death, for revolting at *Carrick* to the Enemy, according to the Liberty he had reſerved to himſelf in that caſe by the Capitulation. In the North of *Ireland* Col. *Theophilus Jones* being ſent out with ſeven Troops of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and three hundred Foot, to get Proviſions for the Relief of thoſe Parts, met with a Party of the Enemy, conſiſting of ſixteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horſe, whom he charged, and after a ſharp Diſpute routed, and put to flight, killing many of their Officers, and three hundred Souldiers upon the Place. All the Arms of their Foot were taken, and a hundred and fifty Horſe, with the Loſs only of ſix of our Men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Earl of *Clanrickard* finding the Iriſh Affairs in a deſperate Condition, with what Forces he had left retired into the Iſle of *Carrick*, where being encompaſſed by our Men on all ſides, he ſubmitted, and obtained Liberty to tranſport himſelf with three thouſand Men to any foreign Country in Friendſhip with the Commonwealth, within the ſpace of three Months.

The Parliament having already ſent over to us five Companies of Foot under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Finch*, who had done very good Service at the Battel of *Worceſter*, reſolved to ſend eight hundred more out of the

Regiment of Major Gen. *Lambert*, and an intire Regiment commanded by Col. *Clark*; which Forces were procured rather to promote the Deſigns of General *Cromwel*, than from any need we had of them; our military Service in *Ireland*, by the Bleſſing of God, drawing towards a Concluſion, moſt of the Iriſh Forces having ſubmitted and laid down their Arms, no Gariſon of any Strength holding out againſt us, and many Thouſands of the Enemy ſent into foreign Service. The Souldiers of *Lambert*'s Regiment were countermanded upon his refuſal to go to *Ireland* without the Character of Deputy; but the Regiment of Col. *Clark* being throughly principled for *Cromwel*'s Deſign, continued their March by order of the Parliament, who were perſwaded to conſtitute Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief of their Forces in *Ireland*, and one of their Commiſſioners for the Civil Affairs in that Nation.

The States General, upon the Return of their Ambaſſadors from *England*, diſpatched Orders to their Admiral to take all Advantages againſt the Engliſh, and ſolicited the King of *Denmark* to break with us alſo, encouraging him to detain twenty two Engliſh Merchant Ships which he had formerly ſeized coming through the *Sound*. The Parliament, to prevent the Dangers that might enſue by farther Delay, gave Orders to General *Blake* to fall upon the Subjects of *Holland* whereſoever he ſhould meet

them, and particularly to interrupt their Fiſhery upon the Northern Coaſt, ſending the Regiments of Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Goff* on board the Fleet. General *Blake* having received theſe Inſtructions, ſet ſail for the North, where meeting with about ſix hundred Herring-Buſſes, under a Convoy of twelve Men of War, he took and ſunk the whole Convoy; and having ſeized the Fiſh that the Buſſes had taken, he releaſed all the Veſſels with the Seamen belonging to them. Which Action was blamed by ſome, who thought that by the help of thoſe Ships we might have been enabled to erect a Fiſhery, and thereby have made ſome Reparation to the Engliſh Nation for the Damages which they had ſuſtained from the Dutch; and that by detaining their Mariners we might have weakned and diſtreſſed them conſiderably, they wanting Men for the management of their Shipping. In the mean time Sir *George Ayſcue*, who was lately returned from the Reduction of *Barbadoes*, and had convoyed into the River five Merchant Ships richly laden from the *Eaſt Indies*, fell upon a Fleet of Hollanders conſiſting of forty Merchant-men under the Convoy of four Men of War. Of this Fleet he took ſeven, forced divers on ſhore, and the reſt narrowly eſcaped. About the ſame time a Ship from *Guiny*, valued at forty thouſand Pounds, was by ſome of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich Ships, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of their Trade. To ap-

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ply ſome Remedy to this, the Dutch Admiral with his Fleet came into the *Downs*, and anchored by Sir *George Ayſcue*, who was retired under *Dover*-Caſtle, being much inferiour in Number to the Enemy; but the Hollanders after a ſhort ſtay left our Fleet, and ſet ſail, without attempting any thing againſt us. At *Leghorn* ſome of their Men of War preparing to ſeize ſuch Engliſh Merchants Ships as lay in that Port, the Grand Duke ſent a Meſſage to the Dutch, to let them know, that if they committed any Acts of Hoſtility againſt the Engliſh Nation in that Harbour, their Goods in the Town ſhould be reſponſible for it. Admiral *Blake* returned to the *Downs*, and being informed that a French Fleet was going to relieve *Dunkirk*, then beſieged by the Spaniards, called a Council of War, and by their Advice ſent a Squadron after them, which coming up with the French, took divers of their Ships, and diſperſed the reſt; by which means chiefly the Town was ſoon after ſurrendred.

The Iriſh being reduced to Extremity, and moſt of the Country in the hands of the Engliſh, the Parliament reſolved to give the Adventurers Poſſeſſion of Lands proportionable to the ſeveral Sums they had advanced, and alſo to ſatisfy the Arrears of the Army out of the ſame, as they had formerly promiſed: which that they might be enabled to perform, they paſſed an Act, confiſcating ſo much of the Eſtates of thoſe who had acted againſt the

Engliſh, as they judged the Quality of their Crimes to require, and extending their Clemency to thoſe who had carried themſelves peaceably. In the mean time that I might bring ſuch as remained yet in Arms againſt us to a neceſſity of ſubmitting, I marched with a Party of about four thouſand Horſe and Foot; and having ſcoured the Counties of *Wexford* and *Wicklo*, placing Gariſons where I thought convenient, I went to *Tredagh*, where I met the reſt of the Parliament's Commiſſioners; and having ſtaid eight days in that Place to ſettle Affairs, I continued my March into the County of *Meath*, and coming to *Carrick Mac Roſs*, a Houſe belonging to the Earl of *Eſſex*, where the Rebels had barbarouſly murdered one Mr. *Blany* a Juſtice of Peace in that Country, I cauſed it to be fortified, and put a Gariſon in it, being advantageouſly ſituated to reſtrain the Enemies Excurſions. From hence I went to viſit the Gariſon of *Dundalk*, and being upon my Return, I found a Party of the Enemy retired within a hollow Rock, which was diſcovered by one of ours, who ſaw five or ſix of them ſtanding before a narrow Paſſage at the Mouth of the Cave. The Rock was ſo thick, that we thought it impoſſible to dig it down upon them, and therefore reſolved to try to reduce them by Smoak. After ſome of our Men had ſpent moſt part of the day in endeavouring to ſmother thoſe within by Fire placed at the Mouth of the Cave, they withdrew the Fire,

Fire, and the next Morning ſuppoſing the Iriſh to be made uncapable of Reſiſtance by the Smoak, ſome of them with a Candle before them crawled into the Rock. One of the Enemy who lay in the middle of the Entrance fired his Piſtol, and ſhot the firſt of our Men into the Head, by whoſe Loſs we found that the Smoak had not taken the deſigned effect. But ſeeing no other way to reduce them, I cauſed the Trial to be repeated, and upon examination found that tho a great Smoak went into the Cavity of the Rock, yet it came out again at other Crevices; upon which I ordered thoſe Places to be cloſely ſtopped, and another Smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to groan very ſtrongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we preſumed that the Work was done; yet the Fire was continued till about Midnight, and then taken away, that the Place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next Morning. At which time ſome went in armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-piece, to prevent ſuch another Accident as fell out at their firſt Attempt; but they had not gone above ſix Yards before they found the Man that had been heard to groan, who was the ſame that had killed one of our Men with his Piſtol, and who reſolving not to quit his Poſt, had been, upon ſtopping the holes of the Rock, choaked by the Smoak. Our Souldiers put a Rope about his Neck, and drew him out. The Paſſage being

cleared, they entred, and having put about fifteen to the Sword, brought four or five out alive, with the Prieſt's Robes, a Crucifix, Chalice, and other Furniture of that kind. Thoſe within preſerved themſelves by laying their Heads cloſe to a Water that ran through the Rock. We found two Rooms in the Place, one of which was large enough to turn a Pike; and having filled the Mouth of it with large Stones, we quitted it, and marched to *Caſtle-Blany*, where I left a Party of Foot, and ſome Horſe, as I had done before at *Carrick* and *Newry*, whereby that part of the County of *Monaghan* was pretty well ſecured. We continued our March to *Monaghan*, and ſo to *Aghur*, where we caſt up ſome Works, and left a Gariſon to defend it. Near this Place lay the *Creaght* of Lieutenant General *O Neal*, Son to that *O Neal* who after ſeveral Years Impriſonment in the Tower of *London* died there: He came over from the Service of the King of *Spain* to be Lieutenant General to the Army of *Owen Roe O Neal*; but upon ſome Jealouſy or particular Diſcontent was laid aſide. This Man with his Wife, who he ſaid was Niece to the Dutcheſs of *Artois*, and ſome Children, removed, as the Iriſh do generally in thoſe Parts, with their Tenants and Cattel, from one Place to another, where there is Conveniency of Graſs, Water and Wood; and there having built a Houſe, which they do compleatly in an hour or two, they ſtay till they want Graſs, and

and then diſlodg to another Station. This way of living is accompanied with many Inconveniences to the Publick Service; for they not only give ſhelter to the Enemy, but take all Advantages themſelves both to plunder and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whither they go, and ſo can neither eaſily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to *Inniskillin* in the County of *Fermagnah*, that I might take a view of the Place, and likewiſe provide Materials to fortify *Leſneskey*, otherwiſe *Bally Balfoar*, and to reduce an Iſland kept by the Iriſh in *Loughern*, with another Fort they poſſeſſed near *Bulturbet*. Being at *Leſneſkey*, I was met by Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, who with a Party of Horſe and Foot had diſperſed the Enemy in *Letrim*. Having fortified this Place, and made ſome Preparations for the Reduction of the Iſland beforementioned, I received Advice from the Commiſſioners of Parliament at *Dublin*, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had landed at *Waterford*, and was gone to *Kilkenny*, where they deſigned to attend him. The News of his Arrival was very welcome to me, having found my Care and Fatigues recompenſed only with Envy and Hatred; and therefore having given Orders where I was for the carrying on the Publick Service, I haſtned after the Commiſſioners; and being come to *Kilkenny*, I ſaluted the Commander in Chief, and congratulated his ſafe Arrival; after which I gave him an Account

count of the Affairs of the Army, with Assurances of my Resolution to obey his Orders. In this place Col. *Walter Bagnal*, who had been one of the Hostages delivered to us for the performance of the Treaty concluded with those of the Province of *Leinster*, was by the Marshal detained Prisoner upon an Accusation brought against him for the Murder of an English-Man; which Crime being excepted out of those Articles, and all others at any time granted to the Irish, the Commissioners thought themselves obliged in duty to put him upon his Trial, and to that end caused him to be brought before them, where upon full Proof they condemned him to be shot to death; which Sentence was executed accordingly. The Lieutenant General remained some time at *Kilkenny*; but the Commissioners having dispatched their Affairs in those Parts, returned to *Dublin*, and I accompanied them thither.

The *Holland* Fleet appearing off the *Goodwin Sands*, Admiral *Blake* hastned the Foot Souldiers aboard, and set sail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French Coast; where being joined by the Ships commanded by Vice Admiral *De Ruyter*, they returned towards our Fleet, and came within six Leagues of the North Foreland. Capt. *Mildmay* in the *Nonpareille*, about four in the Afternoon, exchanged some Shot with them; and soon after the English Admiral, with a few more, came up also, the rest of the Fleet by reason

reaſon of bad Weather being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themſelves cloſe together, firing ſeveral ſingle Shot at ours, which our Admiral thought not fit to anſwer, till the reſt of his Fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the Admiral of *Holland*. The Fight laſted from five till ſeven, when Night parted them, the Reer-Admiral of the Enemy having loſt all his Maſts, and two more of their Ships moſt part of their Rigging. Capt. *Mildmay* followed them cloſe, and being come up with them, commanded his ſmall Shot to be fired into that Ship that made moſt ſail, immediately after which he boarded and took her. This done, he purſued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield alſo. In one of theſe Ships was the Dutch Reer-Admiral, whom Capt. *Mildmay* took out, with the reſt of the Men, and then let her ſink, ſhe being ſo diſabled, that he deſpaired of bringing her off. The next Morning our Fleet purſued the Dutch, who made away with all poſſible ſpeed, and about four in the Afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great Ships except the Admiral being able to reach them, the Night ſeparated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered *Goree* and others of their Harbours, ſo that our Fleet thought fit to deſiſt any farther Purſuit of them. On our ſide we had but three of our Men and Capt. *Jarvis* killed, with about twenty wounded. The Enemies Loſs was conſiderable, many of their

Men

Men being killed and wounded, beſides ſeveral taken Priſoners; and three of their Ships ſunk and taken. Fourteen more were alſo brought into their Ports much damaged in the Engagement, with great Numbers of wounded Men on board. Their Fleet coming to *Goree*, the Captains were forbidden to come a ſhore till Enquiry ſhould be made touching thoſe who had refuſed to fight in the firſt Encounter with the Engliſh. Hereupon the Enmity of the Dutch againſt the Engliſh Nation grew to ſuch a height, that to render them odious, and to encourage their own Subjects to come in to ſerve againſt them, they cauſed the Execution of the late King to be repreſented on the Stage in a moſt tragical manner: Inſomuch that thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*'s Party were not without hopes that the States of *Holland* would rather ſurrender their Liberties to the Prince, than quietly ſuffer *England* to live under the Government of a Commonweath. Some Prejudice we received in two Encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean Sea; but thoſe ſlight Succeſſes were wholly owing to their Number, and not at all to their Courage or Conduct.

The Parliament gave Audience to Ambaſſadors from *Venice* and *Portugal*, referring the Conſideration of their Inſtructions to the Council of State, who were required to report their Opinions touching them to the Parliament. They alſo ordered a Letter to be drawn up and diſpatched to the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, to give

give him Thanks for the good Uſage received from him by the Engliſh Merchants at *Leghorn*. About the ſame time thirty Frigats were appointed to be built, as well to increaſe the Fleet, as to ſecure the Trade of the Nation by Cruiſing. Eighteen Men of War were likewiſe ſent into the *Sound* under the Conduct of Capt. *Hall*, who at his Arrival before *Elſenore*, delivered a Letter to the Governour of that Place for the King of *Denmark*, with Aſſurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty Engliſh Merchant Ships formerly ſeized by the ſaid King at *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* ſeemed much offended that Capt. *Hall* had entred the *Sound* without his leave, and ſent four thouſand Men to *Cronenburg* and *Elſenore*, to reinforce thoſe Places, giving Orders to his Fleet to join with the Hollanders, who were not far off, and to fight the Engliſh in caſe they attacked the Dutch. Theſe great Preparations obliged Capt. *Hall* to retire from thence, and to return to *Newcaſtle*. Hereupon the Daniſh Ambaſſador at *London* had his Audience of Leave from the Parliament, and his Maſter began to prepare twenty Ships of War for the Aſſiſtance of the Dutch, alledging himſelf bound ſo to do by a Treaty with them: In order to which he cauſed the Goods belonging to the Engliſh to be taken out of the two and twenty Ships before-mentioned, and to be ſold, declaring openly for the Hollanders.

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In the mean time the Reformation of the Law went on but ſlowly, it being the Intereſt of the Lawyers to preſerve the Lives, Liberties and Eſtates of the whole Nation in their own hands. So that upon the Debate of *Regiſtring Deeds in each County, for want of which, within a certain time fixed after the Sale, ſuch Sales ſhould be void, and being ſo regiſtred, that Land ſhould not be ſubject to any Incumbrance:* This word *Incumbrance* was ſo managed by the Lawyers, that it took up three Months time before it could be aſcertained by the Committee.

The End of the Firſt Part.